

M. Koster Gucht Scul:

Printed for J. Bennet at y<sup>e</sup> half-Moon in S<sup>t</sup> Paul's Church-yard.

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*Campania Fœlix.*

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O R, A  
**DISCOURSE**  
OF THE  
Benefits *and* Improvements  
OF  
**Husbandry :**

CONTAINING  
DIRECTIONS for all manner  
of Tillage, Pasturage, and Plantation ; As  
also for the making of Cyder and Perry.

With some CONSIDERATIONS upon

- I. *Justices of the Peace, and Inferior Officers.*
- II. *On Inns and Alehouses.*
- III. *On Servants and Labourers.*
- IV. *On the Poor.*

To which are Added,

**Two ESSAYS :**

- I. *Of a Country-House.*
- II. *Of the Fuel of London.*

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By *TIM. NOURSE*, Gent.

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*The Second Edition.*

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LONDON: Printed for *Tho. Bennet*, at the  
*Half-Moon* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, 1706.

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Campania Italia

# DISCOURSE

OF THE  
Benefits and Improvements  
OF  
**Planting**

CONTAINING  
DIRECTIONS for all Manner  
of Tillage, Passage, and Plantation; As  
also for the making of Roads and Fences.

With some Considerations upon  
I. Justice of the Peace  
II. On Law and Liberty  
III. On Government and Education  
IV. On the Poor.

To which are added,

TWO ESSAYS:

I. Of the Nature of the Soil  
II. Of the Use of the Land

By J. H. VOLTERRA, Esq.

LONDON, 1700.

Printed by J. St. John, at the  
Hall, near St. Paul's Church-yard, 1700.



# An Analytical Account of the Argument.

The Improvements of the Country by Husbandry,

Contain } I. The Art of Husbandry.  
 II. The Means to preserve it.

Of the Art of Husbandry, } I. In General, *Cap. I.*  
 II. In Particular of } 1. Tillage, *C. II.*  
 2. Herbage.  
 3. Trees.

Herbage } 1. Of Pasture & Meadow, *Cap. III.*  
 2. Of Fences, *Cap. IV.*  
 3. Of Foreign kinds of Grass, *Cap. V.*  
 4. Of Commonage and Inclosures, *Cap. VI.*

Of Trees or Plantation, and } 1. Of Coppice-Wood, *Cap. VII.*  
 2. Of Trees for the Use of Husbandry, *Cap. VIII.*  
 3. Of Fruit-Trees in General, *Cap. IX.*  
 4. Of Apple-Trees & Cyder, *Cap. X.*  
 5. Of Pear-Trees & Perry, *Cap. XI.*

The Means to Preserve Husbandry in good order, consider'd in these Particulars } Of } 1. Inns & Alehouses, *Cap. XII.*  
 2. Servants & Labourers, *C. XIII.*  
 3. The Poor, *Cap. XIV.*  
 4. Justices of the Peace, and Inferior Officers, *Cap. 15.*

The Conclusion.

With Two ESSAYS relating to this Subject:

I. Of a Country-House.

II. Of the Fuel of *London.*

Account of the

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*Campania Fœlix.*

OR, A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

*Benefits and Improvements*

OF

Husbandry, &c.

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CHAP. I.

*Of Country Affairs in General.*

**B**EFORE I come to speak particularly of Matters relating to a Country Life, it will not be improper to glance a little upon this Subject as it offers it self to our General Prospect, which indeed is both  
B plea-

## 2 Of Country Affairs in General.

pleasant and profitable. And First for its Pleasure, what can be more suitable to a serious and well dispos'd Mind, than to contemplate the Improvements of Nature by the various Methods and Arts of Culture : The same spot of Ground, which some Time since was nothing but Heath and Desert, and under the Original Curse of Thorns and Bryers, after a little Labour and Expence, seems restor'd to its Primitive Beauty in the State of Paradise. Curious Groves and Walks, fruitful Fields of Corn and Wine, with Flowry Meadows, and sweet Pastures, well stor'd with all sorts of Cattle for Food and Use, together with all the Advantages and Delights of Water-Currents and Rivolets ; as also with infinite Variety of Fruit-bearing Trees, of beautiful Flowers, of sweet and fragrant Herbs, &c. are the familiar and easie Productions of Industry and Ingenuity ; all which, as they afford extream Delight to our Senses, so must it needs be a ravishing Pleasure for the Contemplative to consider. What an Infinite Variety of Vegetables, so beautiful and grateful to all our Senses, and so sovereign and useful for Health, may be produc'd out of a little portion of Earth well cultivated, and all this from little Seeds or Grains of small worth in appearance : So that this kind of Employment may most properly be call'd a *Recreation*, not only from the Refreshment it gives to the Mind, but from the *Restauration of Nature*, which may be look'd upon as a *New Creation* of things ; when from

No



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Nothing, or from something next to Nothing, we become the Instruments of producing, or of restoring them in such Perfection.

And altho the Practice of Husbandry be a Business of some Toil and Care, of some Hazard and Expence, yet there is this in it to make all these things easie, *viz.* When a Man shall consider the gradual Advancements of growing Nature, so that every Day represents Things under New Colours and Beauties. 'Tis pleasant to see a Field of Corn shooting out of the Earth, which Pleasure is soon lost in a new and succeeding pleasure of seeing the whole Surface of the Ground, upon the approach, perhaps of Winter, cover'd with the Blades of Green Corn, fresh and verdant as the Virgin Spring. This Pleasure likewise, is again succeeded with others, arising still from the New Appearances of Nature, which must needs be a growing Delight, forasmuch as every Day leads us to a nearer Prospect of Harvest, which is the Crown of all our Labours.

The like Content may be reap'd from all the other Employments of the Country, whether they relate to Planting, or to the Ordering of Pasturage. The Meadow which to Day is Green, two or three Days hence appears in another Livery, even that of Flowers, one Week White, anon Yellow, as soon Purple, or perhaps, in divers Colours at once, as if Nature had borrow'd its Beauties from Art and Fancy. Fruit-bearing Trees, for some time, are cover'd with spotless and sweet-smell-

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ing Blossoms, such as Perfume the Air, and ravish our Senses with surprising Delights: These Dropping off, the Fruit it self begins to appear in its Infancy, which every day grows more Fair till it arrive to Maturity; and then serves further to gratifie our Senses in yielding us Food of Delicacy; but more eminently, by affording us those excellent Liquors, by which *the heart of Man's made glad*, and his Body sustain'd and nourish'd.

Indeed, were we to take up always with any one Entertainment of Nature, we should soon surfeit with it, as we see it happens daily to us in other Cases, where the constant Fruition of one Thing ceases to affect us: But where there is such an infinite Variety of Things (such as are the Productions of the Earth) tendered to us successively, and in their several Seasons, this cannot but sweeten the Mind with wonderful Content: So that as the Toils and Labours are still returning, in like manner are the sweet fruits of them also: And even Toil and Labour it self, has this Pleasure in it, that it quickens Appetite, and contributes to Health and Strength of Body, where 'tis not in Excess, and accompanied with Disorders. And when a Man attentively considers the Annual Progress of Nature through all its Stages and Alterations, it cannot but mind him of his own continual Changes, still leading him forwards towards his End, which is, or ought to be a thing of more consequence to him than all the other Pleasures which he may justly hope to  
reap



*Of Country Affairs in General.* 5

reap from the several Blessings and Seasons of the Year.

Hence it was, that the Bravest Men in the First Ages of the World, betook themselves generally to Husbandry, which (however simple and rude, as it appear'd) was found very advantageous and delightful; insomuch that the Poets of Ancient and Modern Times, when they would describe the true Felicity of Man, and give their Fancies the largest Flights of Freedom and Gayety, borrow all these Descriptions from the Pastoral Life; and even they, who give us Characters of Great Generals and Princes in Heroick Strains, still represent 'em by Metaphors of this Nature: Hence it was that they were called, *Shepherds of the People*, and the Scepter or Ensign of their Office was a *Rod*, or *Staff*, not a Sword. And truly, if we consider the matter with a little Attention, we may readily observe that Men, and other Animals of the Herd, or such as associate together, are to be govern'd much by the same Measures. King *David*, who rul'd his People certainly by good Maxims, and was the best and happiest of any of that Nation, receiv'd doubtless, much Instruction from his Pastoral Methods, of which we have many Instances through the whole Tenour of his *Psalms*; but to proceed:

The Great Esteem which the Ancients had for Husbandry is further legible from hence, That they ascrib'd Divine Honours to those who were the *Inventers* and *Promoters* of it, such



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as *Bacchus*, *Ceres*, *Pan*, *Diana*, &c. Invoking them as the Tutelar Deities over these Affairs: Nor was there a God or Goddess to which they did not Consecrate some Tree or Plant, thereby obliging them (as they thought) to attend more particularly to the Preservation of them. But above all, the *Egyptians* being the greatest Corn-Masters in the World, to recognize the Benefits they receiv'd from *Apis* or *Serapis*, a great Prince, who preserv'd them from Famine (which *Apis* is, by many, conjectur'd to have been the Patriarch *Joseph*) ever worshipp'd him as their Supreme Deity, under the Symbol or Representation of an Ox or Calf, in consideration, that 'twas to the Labour of that Creature we chiefly owe our Sustenance and Life.

And after the Gods; Those Men were ever held in greatest Honour and Veneration, who procur'd Peace and Plenty to the World, either by distributing their Liberality, or by protecting their Subjects from Foreign Enemies, thereby leaving them at Ease to follow their Country Employments; and such an one was *Augustus*, under whose Reign the Temple of *Janus* was shut, who likewise much delighted himself in Rural Avocations, and in the Conversation of *Mecænas*, the great Patron of Husbandry and Learned Men. The Figure of the World, encompassed with Olive-Branches, with the Inscription of *Pax Orbis Terrarum*, was justly inscrib'd by the Senate upon his Coins, for the Peace and  
Plenty

Plenty under the Influence of his Government. The Forms of Plenty, the Bushels and Measures of Corn in the Ears, with the Inscriptions of *Annona* or *Congiarium*, were the fullest Demonstrations of a Prince's Greatness, and of the Peoples Gratitude; all which Testimonials, or Pompous Attributes, were still measur'd, I say, from the Fruits of the Earth; so that the *Romans* never thought themselves happier than under the Reigns of such Emperors, who favour'd them this way: So that the Titles which are given to *Adrian* (under whose Reign the *Roman* Empire seem'd to be arriv'd to its fullest Beauty and Growth) were not dawbing Flatteries, but just acknowledgments of their Obligations to him, when in their Medals they Figur'd that Emperor with his Hand raising a pensive Woman from the Ground, having a Crown on her Head, and a Globe in her Lap, with the Inscription of *Restitutori Orbis Terrarum*, thereby signifying, that he rais'd the World from the Earth, as I may say, with some Pardon for the Solecism. The like Benefits were acknowledg'd by several Provinces in particular, as appears by his Coins; for so it was, that this prudent Prince made it his business, more than any before or after him, to visit the several Regions of the Empire, setting them in good Order, and leaving Marks of his Bounty through all the Stages of his Progress. The other many Noble Inscriptions which we meet with every where in *Roman* Monuments,

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such as, *Ob Civis Servator*; *Salus Generis Humani*; *Libertas Restituta Pacator Orbis*, &c. were the Fruitful Issues of Peace and Plenty, as Plenty was ever the Offspring of the well cultivated Earth.

What Estimation the *Jews* had for a Country Life is very clear from Sacred Writings; Most or all of the Patriarchs or Princes of the East, of whom we read, were Herdsmen and Followers of Husbandry. *Job* had a large Stock of Cattle under his Care, and *Ab-solom*, *David's* Son and Darling, made a Feast for his Sheep-shearers.

As for Prophane Story; At such Time as *Rome* was a Commonwealth, at which Time likewise it most flourished with brave and virtuous Men; 'Twas no rare thing for Plowmen to lead forth their Armies; Such an one was *Atilius*, who was Tilling his Ground with a Yoke of Oxen, and sowing it himself, when the Senate sent for him to be their General; those Hands of his holding the Reins of a Triumphant Carr, which but a little before, held the Plough, to which he gladly return'd again, having prosperously finish'd what he undertook. No less Famous was *Quintius Cincinnatus*, who had the Dictatorship Conferr'd upon him as he was Plowing his Four Acres of Land near the *Vatican*, bare-headed, or cover'd rather with Swett and Dust: Four Acres of Glebe, one would think but a small Pittance for a *Roman* General or Emperour;

so



so consistent then was Greatness of Vertue with the narrow Limits of Fortune.

And even at such Time as *Rome* seem'd to be *en bon point*, at the highest pitch of Luxury, we read of *Terentius Varro*, a Senator, who was the most Learned Man amongst all the *Romans*, and a Great Commander in the Civil Wars betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and of some Figure likewise during the *Triumvirate*, that he valu'd himself much from his Breed of Mares, and from his Flock of Sheep, which was Seven Hundred, as he himself tells us in the Book he has Published *de Re Rustica*, wherein he condescends to many Particulars relating to Husbandry and Good Housewifry, as also to the breeding and ordering of Fowl and Cattle. In the Second of which Books, being Dedicated to his Friend *Niger Turranus*, a *Roman* Nobleman, he tells us, how this Friend of his was wont to Trudge it a Foot, from Market to Market, to buy Beasts.

To be short, There cannot be a greater Testimony for the Honour of the Plough, than the Behaviour of *Romulus*, the First Founder of *Rome*, and, as I may say, of that Vast Empire, as laying its Foundation in those solid Maxims by which it grew to such a prodigious Greatness in after Ages: Amongst which Fundamental Institutions, this was one (if not the greatest) *viz.* to Erect a College of Priests, under the Title of *Sacerdotes Arorum*: Their Number was Twelve, of which he himself was one, condescending to be called the Twelfth

Twelfth Brother of that Fraternity, being solemnly Installed thereunto by *Laurentia Acca*, his Foster-Mother, who plating a Garland of the Ears of Corn, bound it on his Head with her White Fillet, which was lookt upon at that time to be the most Sacred Badge of Priesthood, and was the First Crown that we read of amongst the *Romans*: And in so great Honour was it held in after Ages, that nothing but Death could put a Period to it, and was ever enjoyed, even in Times of Exile and Captivity.

No Wonder then, if even Kings themselves delighted to write of Husbandry, such as *Hiero*, *Philometor*, *Archelaus* and *Attalus*. Amongst Militant Persons, *Xenophon* was eminent this way; but much more famous was *Mago*, the *Carthaginian*, and Brother of *Hanibal*; which Works of his were held in that Esteem, as to be Translated into divers Languages, an Epitome whereof, made *Greek*, was sent to *Dejotarus*, as a Jewel of Inestimable Value; and particularly, it was lookt upon by the *Romans*, to be so precious, that amongst all the *African* Monuments of Learning, this alone was thought worthy of the *Romans* Care, and to be preserv'd, upon the Subversion of *Carthage*, being Translated likewise into the *Roman* Language, by the Care and Directions of *M. Cato*. Amongst Philosophers, whose Works are Extant, *Aristotle*, *Pliny* and *Terentius Varro* signaliz'd themselves upon this Subject, as did also *Theocritus*, *Hesiod*

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*God* and *Virgil*, amongst the Ancient Poets, with infinite other Writers of modern Date.

And such an Influence truly had the Art and Practise of Husbandry upon the Minds of Men, that the most eminent of them in all Ages, whether for Military or Civil Employments, did ever betake themselves, in some degree or other, to this Course of Life. Hence it was that every *Roman* of old had his *Villa* where to bestow himself in time of Vacancy from Business, as they have at this Day in *Italy*, and elsewhere, belike thinking themselves then most happy, when they take up with the Entertainments of their Vineyards.

As to the Profits arising from a Country Life, it is superfluous to enlarge on that which is so obvious to all the World: And first, in respect of the General or Commonwealth. This is that great Vein by which the Blood is distributed through all Parts of the Body, or rather the very Blood it self, since it is diffus'd over the Whole, nor can any Part or Member subsist without it: It is the Foundation of Traffick and Commerce, forasmuch as all the Manufactures and Commodities which we export or receive from Foreign Parts, are but the Productions of the Earth at the first or second hand. Corn, Wine, Oil, Fruits, Cloth, Linen or Woollen, Silks, &c. are all of them the Off-spring of the Earth, cultivated by Art and Industry.

And as the Husbandman is most necessary to the Publick in Times of Peace, so is he as useful



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useful in Times of War, since all the Stores and Magazines, by which Garrisons and Armies in the Field are sustain'd, are deriv'd from his Labour and Providence. The Description therefore which the Poet gave of old *Italy*, that it was *Potens Armis atque Ubere Gleba*, was well concerted; for *Italy*, as it was one of the most fruitful, so it was the most martial and victorious Country under Heaven, giving Laws to all other Nations; so that were it under the Command of one Prince, it might possibly pretend to be once more the Mistress of the World, as it was heretofore, when the Boundaries of its Empire were the Ocean, which it exceeded to in Greatness of Extent: Nor could it be possible for *Flanders*, with the other neighbouring Countries, to sustain such vast Armies, and to have been the Seat of War and Desolation for so many Ages together, with such immense Losses and Calamities, were they not enabled thereunto by the invincible Industry of its Inhabitants, and by the Fertility of the Soil.

In the next place, if we regard the particular Interest of private Persons, no less obvious is it, that nothing can more advance it than Husbandry: The great Estates and Fortunes which many Men arrive to this way, being a certain Proof of this Truth. If some miscarry, 'tis no wonder, whether it be through their own ill course of Life, Ignorance or Negligence, or perhaps from some sinister Accidents, from which no State or Condition can be

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be exempted : But in the General, 'tis certain, that, considering the vast Numbers of Men who make Profession of Husbandry, noe make a surer Fortune than those who follow ; there being ten Bankrupt Tradesmen or Merchants for one Husbandman, Consideration being had, I say, to the Farms, which exceed the Shops in Number.

And as to our native Country in particular, it enjoys certainly many Advantages above any Country whatsoever : For in foreign Kingdoms, so it happens, that one Province abounds only with Corn, another is Reputation for Wine, a third is eminent for Herbage, a fourth for Boscage ; in which Cases Men must be beholden to remoter Parts for Necessaries, which is a Business of great Expense, Trouble, and Delay ; for Instance, *Picardy* and *Normandy* are great Corn-Countries but have little Wood, Wine, or Pasturage, all which Necessaries, being from far, are very chargeable. *Holland* is famous for Butter and Cheese, but it must be oblig'd to foreign Countries for almost all its other Commodities ; whereas with us in *England*, there is rarely a Farm of Fifty Pounds *per Annum*, but has meadow and Pasture-Ground belonging to it, together with some Wood or Coppice, likewise with Able Land for Corn, with Sheep-Pasture, as also with Trees for building for the Occasions of Husbandry, for Fire, and in many Places for Fruit and rich Liquor, being yet farther bless'd with fresh and wholesome Water almost in

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in every Ground, or with some little Rivolet  
or Brook running near it; so that a Man en-  
joys all things almost within himself, of  
which he can stand in need, without any De-  
pendence upon others, or of being in dan-  
ger of want by any Difficulties in the Convey-  
ance; tho' I must confess, that in some re-  
spects foreign Countries have an Advantage  
over us, not only from the Sun and Temper  
of the Soil, (which generally requires less  
Manurement than with us,) but also from the  
Woods, which in hotter Countries are much  
more easie, being generally dry, smooth, and  
fit for Teams or Carriages at all Seasons; or  
else they have artificial Canals, as in the *Low-  
Countries*, which indeed is a thing very confi-  
derable to a Farmer who keeps the Market; so  
that little Profit may be expected from a Farm,  
be the Ground never so good, which lies not  
near to a good Market-Town, or which wants  
the Conveniencies of good Roads, or of a  
Navigable River.

The *Italian* Saying, of *Buona Terra, Cati-  
va Gente*, hath been by some applied to our  
Country, with respect, doubtless, to the Pea-  
santry of this Nation; for as for the ancient  
Gentry, probably there is not a more frank, a  
more generous, and a more open-hearted sort  
of Men any where to be found, those es-  
pecially who have not been infected with the  
Principles of *Calvin*, who (to give them  
some part of their due) are generally a

Brood



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Brood of formal, censorious, and supercilious Hypocrites! Some of our true *English* Gentry may want that flattering and complementary Gayety, so natural to our Neighbours, following the true *English* Genius, which is plain, hospitable, and debonair, without much Ceremony and Dissimulation; tho' withal they are presumptuous many times, and resentive of Injuries, which really is much more commendable than modish Hypocrisie accompanied with Cringes and Grimace.

But as for our Common People, many of them must be confess'd to be very rough and savage in their Dispositions, being of leveling Principles, and refractory to Government, insolent and tumultuous: What Gentleman soever then shall have the Misfortune to fall into the Neighbourhood of such Boors, let him never think to win them by Civilities; it will be much more easie for him to teach a Hog to play upon the Bagpipes, than to soften such *Brutes* by *Courtesie*; for they will presently interpret a Man's Gentleness to be the Effect of a timorous and easie Nature, which will presently make them bold and saucy. The best way therefore will be to bridle them, and to make them feel the Spur too, when they begin to play their Tricks, and kick. The Saying of an *English* Gentleman was much to the purpose, That Three things ought always to be kept under, our Mastiff-Dog, a Stone-Horse, and a Clown: And really I think a snarling,

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snarling, cross-grain'd Clown to be the most unlucky Beast of the three. Such Men then are to be look'd upon as trashy Weeds or Nettles, growing usually upon Dunghills, which if touch'd gently will sting, but being squeez'd hard will never hurt us.

There is this Thing more to be recommended to every Gentleman who affects a Country Life, *viz.* Not to embarrass himself with too much Business; for the Affairs of the Country consist much in Labour and Drudgery; so that he who has a great deal to manage, if he trust to Servants will certainly be cheated or neglected by them; or if he hurries about it himself, he will be in a perpetual Toil, tho' of never so great Strength of Body; and to lose all the Pleasure of his Life in endless Pains and Vexations, and having many hot Irons in the Fire to be work'd upon at once, some of them will cool and miscarry upon his hands. 'Twas very well observ'd by the ingenious *Bocalin*, when all the Kingdoms and States presented themselves before *Lorenzo Medici*, to be weigh'd by his Balance, and when it came to the turn of the *Spanish* Monarchy to be put into the Scale, it still prov'd lighter and lighter by the Addition of new Provinces; so that *Spain*, under *Philip* the Second, being infinitely augmented by the Access of *Sicily*, *Naples*, *Milan*, the *Low-Countrys*, *Burgundy*, &c. was less weighty, and considerable than before. The Reason was, because all the *Spanish* Treasure was exhausted to maintain such remote and foreign Dependence.

Dependencies, and serv'd but to feed the Avarice of Viceroy's and Governours; so that the main Body grew consumptive and feeble by having its Nourishment diverted for the use of such disproportionable and foreign Members, with their excrementitious Superfluities. The same thing happens then inevitably in a private Gentleman's Estate, when it is too great for a single Person to manage; so that there is no way for him, having sufficient to employ himself about, but to farm out the Overplus to others. A numerous Herd of Servants, (tho' they are necessary Helps to one who has a great deal under hand, and serve to fill up the Measures and Figure of a Family, yet) do in reality impoverish the House they belong to, being like Wenns, and the like Excrescencies, which, tho' they seem to be a Part of the Body, and to add to the Bulk, do in Truth suck the best Juice to themselves, whilst the genuine Parts languish and decay.

He likewise who affects a Country Life ought to be a Person of subdu'd Passions; for where there is a continual Hope, there will be the same, or possibly a greater degree of Fear likewise; and the various Accidents to which our Labours and the Fruits of the Earth are hourly expos'd, cannot but leave a Man frequently under the Impression of these Passions. The Seed which the Husbandman intends to cast into the Earth may be good, and the Soil duly prepar'd, and yet the unseasonableness of the Weather, at the time of sowing,

C



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ing, may fill him with Distrust, and frustrate his Hope. The like Frustration also may happen afterwards from extreme Frosts and Winds, from immoderate Rains and excessive Drouth: And when he is upon the Point of reaping the Fruit of his Labour, all may be lost by the Intemperance of the Weather. Or suppose we farther, that he hath converted all the Fruits of his Labour into Money, this likewise is subject to many Dangers; or if he be so fortunate to lay it out for the Procurement of other Blessings, these may become a Snare to him, and he may surfeit himself by Plenty, and be cut off in the midst of his Enjoyments. How many Mischiefs are there to which Fruit-bearing Trees are obnoxious! And when all thereunto relating shall fall out according to our Desires, how easie is it for a Man to be ruin'd by too much delight in drinking of the juicy Blessing, falling either into a Disease, or into Habits of Intemperance, to the final Consumption of his Estate, Parts and Credit: So that the true way for a Man to be happy amidst his Travels and Labours, is not to be over-anxious about such Comforts, but to be moderate in the Fruition of them; and by this means he will secure himself from Disappointments, and have his Appetite always quick to relish what is grateful, by being temperate and abstemious. And thus may a Man rejoice innocently in all his Labours, and be prepar'd for a more perfect Fruition of what is solid and unalterable, by his constant

constant dependance upon Providence, and by making God's Blessings to be the daily subject of his Thoughts.

If there were a Kalendar, or Diary, kept of Weather, *viz.* what Rains or Winds, what Severities of Heat and Cold; what Plenty or Dearth, what Vicissitudes or Accidents happen every Year, it would be a most profitable Work doubtless; and of far more use than all the Prognostications of cautious Astrologers; for it happens very frequently, that upon the same Concurrence of Causes and Circumstances, we meet with the same Effects. This Method was observ'd ever by the best Artists in Husbandry. And amongst the Ancients, as we may read in *Virgil*, they had a constant regard to the Heavens, as to all the Seasons and Productions of Nature.

And as there ought to be a Diary or Register for Seasons, so likewise for the Productions which come from Foreign Parts; and to this End and Purpose, 'twould be a Diversion well worthy the Ingenuity of many Young Gentlemen who travel, to be curious in observing what Fruits every Soil does yield, as also the Nature and Complexion of the Soil, the Temper of the Climate, the Rules of their Husbandry, the Tackle and Instruments they make use of, as also their Methods of Manurement, with what Returns they make of their labours. As for Curiosities of Plants, Fruit-Trees, Flowers, and other Rarities of the Gardens, brought over from Foreign Countries,

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we have certainly as great a Collection as any Nation under Heaven, there being none to be found which is so universally stor'd with all Provisions of this kind as is *England*, and possibly some parts of the *Low Countries*; which Benefit we have from the great Trade we drive in all Parts of the World; so that, whatsoever is rare, is brought over, and naturaliz'd amongst us, being made free of our Soil.

The like Improvements might be made, certainly, in matters relating to Husbandry and Planting, which would be of equal Pleasure with the Entertainments of a Garden, and of infinite more Profit, beyond all Dispute; especially if we make choice of such Experiments and Observations as are already made by many excellent Persons of this latter Age, in which this sort of Natural History seems to have obtain'd its utmost Perfection; Out of all which Writings of our Modern Times, a most excellent System or Body of Husbandry might be compiled, than which nothing could be more reputable to the Undertaker, nor more beneficial to the whole Kingdom: Not that I think it Expedient that all Foreign Growths should be encourag'd, for this in many cases may be detrimental, as I shall shew hereafter especially when the Introduction of some things, shall discredit and discourage the Growth of others: only then 'twill be beneficial to the Publick, when 'tis of such Productions as are imported on us from abroad; by this means we shall never be at any straits time of War, for what we want, and our D



bursements will be less in the course and methods of Traffick. I shall instance only in Three Things, of which

The First is, The Planting of Hemp and Flax. 'Tis known to all, what Profit is made of the latter in *Lombardy* and some Parts of *France*; the Growth of Flax being esteem'd equal to that of the richest Wines in *Italy*, as being cultivated in the same rich Soil, such as that in the State of *Milan, Parma, Modena, &c.* than which there cannot be a better upon Earth: And when I consider, that the Flax Trade, and the Thread and Cloth made of it being a sedentary kind of Employment, clean and fit for Ladies, no doubt many nice Fingers which refuse to handle greasie Wooll, might easily be invited hereunto: And that this was the most honourable Vocation in which the Noblest Matrons and Virgins of Ancient Times were employed, is abundantly evident from Ancient Records, the Invention thereof being of Divine Extraction, and ascrib'd to *Minerva*; the like Esteem it has ever preserv'd to its self through all after Ages, insomuch that all Virgins, even of Royal Degree and Birth, were, and are still, stiled *Spinsters*; because this was the Business they were to profess and practice: No wonder then if amongst the Familiars of the Nuptial Waggon amongst the *Romans*, the Wheel and Distaff was ever the chiefest, and most conspicuous: And truly, could the Profession of Spinning be separated from the Maiden State of the greatest Princesses, the *Salique*

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*lique* Law would meet with an unlucky Rub, or perhaps a Baffle, when it bars the Distaff from Succession to the Crown, by telling us that it cannot fall *en que neulle*.

The Advantage to the Kingdom arising from the Linnen Manufactures, would be very great, especially if young Children were inur'd hereunto from their Childhood, for by that means their Fingers being then young and pliable, would get such an Habit of working as Age it self could hardly wear away. A Scheme of this Nature I have met with in a Book published by Captain *Tarrington* of *Worcestershire*, a very knowing Projector, from the Observations he made of the vast Advantage they found in *Holland* by these and such like Arts well worthy our Imitation; such Children being there bred up in Working-House or Colledges, under the Guard of honest, vigilant and experienced Mistresses or Overseers.

Another thing of which it might be wish'd there were a Tryal made, is that of the Silke Manufacture, by planting of Mulberries, which doubtless might be made to prosper in this Island. This likewise would be a very suitable Employment or Recreation rather, for the more delicate of the other Sex, who are much taken with the Gawderies of Butterflies. From whence also they may learn this Moral Lecture, That as the greatest Ornaments and Lustre of their Bodies are the Spoils of Worms

So the greatest Food for Worms will be upon the Spoils of their Bodies.

The Third Thing which I would recommend to be encourag'd, is the Planting of Walnut-Trees, not for the Benefit of the Fruit to eat, which is inconsiderable; but for the Profit which might be made of the Oil, which tho of little Use with us, would be very well worth the Exportation; it being amongst the poorer sort beyond-Sea, some part of their Food, and most serviceable to the Great Ones too, in the Use they make of it, to be Fuel for their Lamps, especially in their Churches, and almost in all Private Houses. There is no Tree whatsoever growing in our *English* Soil, whose Timber is so useful for Curious Furniture; so that every Limb or Branch of a Walnut-Tree which will but carry Three Inches Square, is serviceable and of value: Nor do I find that these Trees are of any Difficulty to be rais'd as to the choice of Ground, nor subject to so much hazard as Oaks, and other Trees, upon Extremities of Weather. All that can discourage the Tryal of them is, the long Time we must wait for the Maturity of them, which exceeds the common limits of an Age; but since there is no more Care about them when they once begin to grow, than about other common Trees which grow wild and natural, it seems too great an Argument of a mean Spirit in a Man, to measure all his Undertakings by the returns of Profit which he may expect in his own Life-time, without regard to



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the future Advantages which his Heirs and After-Ages may reap from his Industry. Tho in what I am now speaking of, there is a great Pleasure and Satisfaction in seeing the gradual Advances of Nature, and considerable Profit to be expected too, by the Fruits they yield, which will be still greater the longer they grow.

'Tis much to be wish'd likewise, That the State would afford some Encouragement to Husbandry, more than what we find at present, by exempting it, or at least by easing it, as to the Publick Burthens, especially for some Years, upon any New Undertaking, which shall be judg'd profitable to the Publick: For by this Means Men would venture upon Projection. 'Tis very well observ'd by a most Ingenious and Learned Gentleman, in his Remarks upon one of the greatest, most Ancient, and most polish'd Governments upon Earth, when he tells us, [*"That Agriculture is encouraged by so many special Priviledges from the Crown, and the Common Laws and Customs of the Country, that whatever Wars happen, the Tillers of the Ground are untouch'd, as if they were Sacred, like the Priests in other Places, so as no Country in the World was ever known to be so well cultivated, as the whole Kingdom of China.*] Whereas with us, and other neighbouring Countries, 'tis the poor Husbandman who must support in a manner, the whole Expence of a War, and

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undergo greater Burthens and Drudgery than the Beasts which Till the Ground.

In fine, What I have written upon this Subject, is not grounded upon the Reports and Methods of other Authors, but upon my own *Observations*, towards which I have had some small Advantage by my long continuance in a Private and Country Life, which *Observations* I shall adventure to deliver more particularly in the following *Chapters*.

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C H A P.

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## CHAP. II.

### *Of Tillage.*

**T**HE Art and Practice then of *Husbandry* is reducible to these Three General Heads, *viz.* *Tillage*, *Pasturage*, and *Plantation* : On each of which I shall be brief, in regard many write daily upon this Subject, more copiously sometimes than solidly ; their Volumes generally swelling with trivial Observations, and large Digressions ; whereas the Reason of things is more easily comprehended when contracted into a lesser Room, and freed from tedious Repetitions and Exemplifications.

I shall begin first with *Tillage*, which is either in the open and common Fields, or amidst Inclosures ; and altho' Inclosures, where every Man's Property is secur'd by Fences, may seem much more eligible, yet so it is that common Fields are held generally in greater Esteem and Value, and that for these Reasons, as, 1<sup>st</sup>. In common Fields Men are delivered from the continual Vexation and Expence of making and repairing of Hedges, and consequently from the Injuries of Cattle breaking in upon one anothers Ground : For such common Fields bordering upon Pasturage, or other Inclosures



Inclosures, it lies upon others to secure the Mounds. Besides, there are Haywards appointed on purpose to make their Rounds, and to see all things safe. 2dly, Common Fields have a great Advantage above Inclosures, from Sheep; for when they lie fallow, by being wide, the Sheep are forc'd to nip the young Weeds as fast as they peep out of the Ground, and there leave their Dung; by which means they convert what is most hurtful to what is most profitable for Corn; whereas in little Inclosures they will be still brousing upon the Hedges, where likewise they will be continually nursing to avoid the Sun and Cold, so that they destroy the Fences, and leave their Dung in Places which make no return, whilst the Fallow is poison'd with over-grown Weeds and Trash; and here indeed lies the true Profit of Sheep, for where they are kept in lesser Closes, the Owner will be in perpetual danger of losing by them, and the Sheep themselves will be in danger of tearing their Fleeces, and of leaving their Wool amongst the Thorns and Bushes. 3dly, Common Fields are more open to the Sun, and more free from Birds likewise, which lying in the Trees and Hedges, will be continually preying upon the Corn; whereas in little Inclosures, Corn never ripens so kindly, being under the Shade and Dropplings of Trees; the Roots likewise of the Trees spreading to some distance from the Hedges, do rob the Earth of what should nourish the Grain, as the Birds likewise will not be

be wanting to play their part from the neighbouring Hedges, as soon as the Corn begins to ripen in the Ear.

Inclosures nevertheless have this Advantage, (which perhaps is peculiar to *Hereford, Worcester, and some Parts of Gloucestershire,*) that in the Hedges Fruit-Trees may be planted, the Profit whereof in some Years equals half the Rent of the Ground: But this, I say, is local, or a Profit only in such Countries where Fruit-Trees are thrifty and flourishing. And as for other Trees, as Oaks, Elms, Ash, and the like, which grow commonly in Hedges, 'tis well if the Lop and Crop of them will serve for Fewel, and the old Trees, and other Wood arising from thence, defray the Charge of Ditching, and of repairing the Mounds and Hedges from time to time. This Advantage notwithstanding is hardly worth taking notice of, it being much more profitable to have such Hedges as shall never need repair, than to have Trees growing in them which from time to time may supply the Husbandman with Fewel: For 'tis certain that great Trees rob the Quick of its Nourishment, and the Trespass which the Husbandman receives by the continual decay of such Hedges near such Trees, and the Expence he must be continually at in making them good, makes such Fences very chargeable and expensive, whereas a clean quick-set Hedge will never need repair.

There is farther Advantage likewise from Inclosures, in that a Man receives no Trespass or Damage

Damage from a Neighbour's turning upon his Grounds; for so it is, that in Common-Fields the first Plower always receives a considerable Damage, especially upon his head Lands, which butt upon another's Lands; for he that sows last turns his Cattle backward and forward on it, to the great Damage and Destruction of what was first sown. Besides, the continual Trespass of going over one another's Grounds and Corn, both at Sowing and at Harvest-time, is very prejudicial to the Crop. Nevertheless, Common Fields are much to be preferr'd before Inclosures, for the Reasons before-mention'd.

Fallowing of Ground every third or every fourth Year, is excellent good Husbandry: For they who plow upon the Brush, (as they call it in *Glocestershire*,) that is to say, every Year tilling and sowing the Ground, without Intermission, will certainly be plagu'd with Weeds enough; for 'tis the Fallow, or turning up the Earth to the Sun, which kills the Weeds at the Root, and makes the Earth more freeable and fine, and gives the Dung or Compost time to mix and incorporate with the Soil; whereas the other Method, besides the Damage of Weeds, robs the Ground of all its Virtue by continual Crops, nor can the Dung have time to digest and mix with the Earth before the Grain be sown. This piece of Husbandry was much in use amongst the Ancient Romans, as appears by *Virgil*, *Georg. I.*



*Illæ seges demum Volis respondet Avari  
Agricola, bis quæ solem quæ frigora sensit.*

In the Interpretation of which Place Authors are at some Contest. The Explication of *Salmasius* seems most rational, which is this, *viz.* That Ground is fittest for a Crop of Bread-Corn which has been four times plowed; of which the first plowing must be in the Winter, the second in the Spring, the third in the Summer, and the last in Autumn, or immediately before the Season of sowing; so that the first and last Plowings, according to his Interpretation, must have allusion to *bis frigora*; the other two Plowings are poetically recommended by the Vernal and Æstival Suns. The Reason of the Summer-Fallow is taught us by the same Poet a little after.

*Glebasque jacetns  
Palverulenta Coquat Maturis Solibus Æstas.*

Because the parching Sun burns the fibrous and stringy Roots of the Herbs or Weeds, which otherwise would choak the Grain.

Lime and burning of Ground is kinder for Corn than Dung; for Dung, besides that it requires some Digestion or Maturation, is subject to breed Weeds, by reason of the Weeds and their Seeds which lie in the Litter. But the Shovelings of Folds is the worst thing imaginable that can be thrown upon

Tillage

Tillage; for it consists chiefly of the win-  
nowings of Corn, with all manner of Trash  
whatsoever; and tho' the Chaff or Litter be  
perfectly rotted and turn'd to Earth, yet it  
shall still flourish with Weeds beyond any o-  
ther Soil or Compost whatsoever; but for  
pasturage such sort of Management is very  
hind.

Pigeons-Dung is the hottest of any; one  
Load and a half of it being thinly strew'd  
or sown, is sufficient for an Acre. Next,  
sheeps-Dung is an excellent Manurement, and  
of this about four Load to an Acre; of Horse-  
Dung, eight Load upon an Acre is good dres-  
sing; and of Beasts or Cow-Dung, ten or  
twelve Load; and of good mellow Earth, as  
the Mud, or cleansing of Pools, Ditches, and  
the like, after two or three Years sweetening,  
we ought to bestow twenty Load at least up-  
on an Acre. We are to note likewise, that  
the fresher the Dung, the better 'tis for Ster-  
coration; so that one Load of Dung, a little  
loosened or settled in a heap, is as good as  
two Load of that which has lain two or  
three Years mellowing; forasmuch as two  
Load of fresh Dung, after it has lain for  
some time rotting, will not make one Load.  
Besides, the saline or sulphureous parts of the  
Dung (in which its vegetative Virtue does  
principally consist) by lying long in the heap,  
is wasted by continual heat and rotting,  
and after some time will prove no better than  
rank Mould, or Earth; whereas that which

is

new is fat and unctionous, and full of heat and spirit.

This which I have said holds true in the Manurement of Ground for Corn; but for Garden-Ground, that Dung which is oldest and most rotten is the best, because it may be made fine and sifted, and by this means be fit for all Seed-Plots, Boxes, Flowers, and the like. But in all these Cases no definitive Rule can be given; forasmuch as the Natural Temper or Disposition of the Earth being in several Places very different, more or less help must be us'd, and generally speaking, an Acre of Arable dress'd as before-mention'd, will yield three Crops. But of all Manurements I hold Lime to be the best: Four Loads to a moderate Acre is a good dressing; it kills the Weeds, corrects the Coldness of the Soil, and cherishes the Grain; so that the Ground which is dress'd with it will be the better for Several Years after. 'Tis likewise wonderful good for cold weeping Pasture.

In former Ages they manur'd their Land much with Marle, which is a hot kind of Earth, and flakes something like Lime: And 'tis certain that they us'd vast Quantities of it, as appears by the great Pits we find in all Places where such Husbandry was in use, some of which Pits will contain ten or twelve thousand Loads; but this sort of Husbandry, since the use of Lime has been in credit, is much neglected.

Burning



Burning of Land is excellent good for Corn, for by this means the Weeds are kill'd, and the Strings or Fibres of the Weeds or Grass being turn'd into Ashes enrich the Ground mightily, by reason of the saline or nitrous Particles with which the Ashes do abound. Upon which account it is, that such Marshes as lie near the Sea-Coast, and are wash'd with the briny Element, are extraordinary luxuriant, and feed Cattle beyond any other. Shells and trashy Weeds, of which we find great quantities on the Sea-shore, are wonderful Helps to Tillage; so that a barren piece of Ground, not worth Four Shillings *per* Acre, will yield eight or nine Crops successively, as I have been credibly inform'd; the Reason is from the great quantities of Salt which such Trash does abound with; and for this Reason 'tis, I say, that *Rumny* Marsh and the Marshes of *Holland* feed the best of any Ground in the World. Hence it is that the *Low-Countries* have such a large Breed of Men, Horses, and other Beasts, as are not elsewhere to be found: And for the same Reason likewise 'tis that the Animals which are ingender'd in the Sea are far more numerous and greater in bulk than those of the Earth; and the young Fry or Spawn of Fish belonging to the River, such I mean as relish the Salt-Water, as Salmon, Lamprys, and the like, tho' small and little when they leave the fresh Streams, will, upon their Return from the Salt-Water, in a very short time acquire an extraordinary

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Growth

Growth. Fish which are so testacious, as Crabs, Lobsters, Oysters, and the like, are much more nourishing than other Fish, by reason of that volatile Salt with which they do abound.

What we read of old, of sowing Cities with Salt, when they were to be eras'd and condemn'd to utter Desolation, seems much to confirm this Opinion; for by that means the Soil was made fit for Pasturage, and for the Service of Beasts, which was design'd to be unfurnish'd with Men; tho' I much doubt whether our common Salt, if sown upon the Earth, would produce any great effect, having receiv'd possibly some Alteration from the Fire. I am more inclinable therefore to believe, that by sowing such Places with Salt was no more but to sow or scatter the Ashes on them, arising from the Ruines, which generally was by burning; which Ashes, by reason of the copious Salts with which they did abound, were themselves, by a kind of Figure, called Salts, and such as serv'd to render the Soil useful only for the Nourishment of Beasts, as I have already observ'd. Why such Salts should be so fruitful seems to proceed from their penetrating Nature, by which they seem to open first, and then to purge the Bodies which do imbibe them from their cold, crude Humours, healing them likewise, and afterwards rendering them more uniform and compact.

The

The way of burning Land, is by gathering the Turfs into little Heaps, in the hollow whereof a little Bush or Faggot of dry Wood being laid; after the Turf has been well dry'd and parch'd by the Sun, they set the Hillock on Fire, and afterwards scatter the parch'd Turf and Ashes upon the Surface. This Method of improving the Ground by burning, was much in practice amongst the Ancient Romans: Their way was to burn the Stubble which remain'd after Harvest, as it was left standing on the Ground, and this serv'd to prepare it for another Crop, as we many Collect from *Virgil, Geor 1.*

*Sæpe etiam sterilis incendere proferet Agros  
Atque levem stipulem crepitantibus utere flammis.*

The Benefit whereof our Poet makes to consist in the Power and Vertue which the Fire has to purge out the crude Humors of the Earth, when he tells us

—*Omne per ignem  
Excoquitur vitium atque exsudat inutilis Humor.*

The same Method likewise of burning the Stubble upon the Ground, is much us'd at this day in the Campaine of *Rome*, at which time the Air is very scorching and unhealthy, the Heat of the Climate being very much increas'd by such general Burnings, attended with so much Smoak. In a word, this way of Burn-



ing, is all the help they have in a manner, in the hotter Countries; where the paucity of Cattle would not afford Soil to dress the Tenth Part of their Tillage; so that the heat of the Climate, with a little help from their stubble Trees, does do that which we of the colder Regions are forced to purchase with four times more Charge and Trouble.

Raggs cut or chopt to pieces, are us'd in many places as a great help to Tillage; and 'tis strange to see what a Crop of Corn some barren flinty Ground shall yield after such a Manurement. In dressing of Ground with Dung, 'tis good to let it lie a little in the Heaps, and digest the rawness of it in the Sun: For turn'd in fresh 'tis not so good, and to let it ly too long, the fat and oily parts will be too much exhal'd.

Many Husbandmen, especially in open common Fields, where they cannot fallow their Land, unless all agree together, sow Vetches which serve their Horses all the Summer, by hitching them on the Land, where they will be sure to eat it bear, and leave good store of Dung in the place: This Method is lookt upon to be as good almost as a Fallow with dunging, and is perform'd with no Charge nor Trouble.

Many likewise, before they sow their Grain especially Wheat, steep it in Urine or Brine that it may imbibe the Salt, and then they flow it with Lime: This they do, not only to strengthen and cherish the Corn against the cold and moistness of the Winter Season, but

also to prevent Birds, Swine, Worms, and the like, from feeding on it. Husbandmen likewise observe to buy such Seed as grew upon a poorer Ground than that on which they intend to sow it: If the Seed be fair and full, it may do very well, but not otherwise; for 'tis with Grain as 'tis with Plants or Trees, the fuller and more thriving the better.

The Season for sowing every sort of Grain after its kind, must be left to the discretion of the prudent Husbandman, who must have regard to the temper of his Land: If it be subject to Weeds, and in good heart and strength, the later the Ground is sown, the better will be the Crop for the purpose; Barley may be sown in the beginning of May, for being a quick grower, the very Dews will in a Weeks time bring it forth of the Earth, and by this means 'twill get a head over the Weeds, which require a longer time to shew themselves, and will not be so apt to thrive in Hot Weather. But if the Ground be dry and sandy, the sooner any sort of Corn is sown in it, 'tis the better, for the heat of the Sun, join'd to that of the Earth, or Soil, will endanger the Crop, and make it turn yellow and wither; but if in case it prove a cool and wet Summer, it may do very well; so that maugre all the care and foresight of the honest Husbandman, he must depend much upon the Dispensations of Heaven, which nei her himself nor the wisest man upon Earth can foresee; and therefore both he and every man else, (how great and provi-

dent foever) after he has cast his business into the best Method his Reason can propose, must still depend upon Providence, as to the event, there being so many Accidents which may traverse his Designs, and such as can never be provided against, nor foreseen.

The same Discretion is to be used in the sowing of Winter-Grain: For light, Sandy Ground, sown late, will rarely bring forth a Crop, unless well stercorated; but being early sown, the Season of the Year will cherish the Seeds without danger of Weeds; whereas the Ground which is more fat and rich, being naturally subject to breed Weeds and Grass, will quickly push them forth, and choak the good Grain in the coming forth; but when such rich Ground is late sown upon, there is no danger; for the Weeds will not stir towards Winter, and the Grain being lodg'd in the Earth, will weather out the Cold Season well enough, and Spring too, when Grass and Weeds are pinch'd by the Cold Weather.

I doubt not of Winter Grain, as Wheat and Rye sown in *February*, if the Season be dry, and the Earth crumbling or mellow, but that it will be as forward as that which is sown at *Michaelmas* or *All-Hallow-tide*, especially if the Ground be well tempered, and clean from Weeds and Covet-Grass, which Two Plowings will do; one, *viz.* as soon as the Crop is off the Ground, the other about *Christmas*, if the Season will permit: But the uncertainty of the Weather will discourage the wa-



ry Husbandman ; but in case, I say, the Weather should prove favourable, and a Man were otherways hindered from sowing his Land at the usual Season, and that the Ground be duly turn'd and in good heart, I see no Reason for despairing of a Crop. But Husbandmen, especially Farmers, like their Horses and Teams, love still to travel in a beaten Road ; for should they once miscarry in a Project, besides the Loss of a Crop, they'd think they should be laugh'd at by their Neighbours, and be pointed at in the Market : And hence it is that we rarely meet with any New Discoveries or Improvements of Husbandry from a laborious Farmer, the Streightness of whose Circumstances will not suffer them to venture a certain Expence upon an uncertain Return, when the Method is new and unusual, tho' he risque the same thing daily, as to the Fruits of his Labour, which depend, as I have said, upon many Contingences which lie beyond his Care and Foresight.

Snow does much preserve Corn from the Injuries of Frosts and Winds, but above all, the Husbandman ought to have regard to keep his Furrows clean, and to make Furrows also sloping cross his Lands to drein the Gauls and carry off the Winter-Water, than which nothing can be more injurious. Besides, the killing of Wants or Moles, which every Husbandman will be sufficiently advertised of from his own daily Damage, more than ordinary Care ought to be had to his Furrows,

especially at the bottoms of Lands: For tho' these pernicious Animals do a vast deal of Spoil by their Hillocks, 'tis much greater Mischief which they do by stopping up the Ends of the Furrows; for in such Places 'tis that the Worms most resort, and by consequence the Wants, who feed upon them; so that I have known the same Place choak'd up three or four times afresh during the Winter-Season.

Ground newly broke up may be sown with some sorts of Pease or Oats. Pease are better, and must be harrowed in after the Plowing; but generally the Crop is not so good as upon temper'd Land, forasmuch as it will be subject to Grass and Weeds. After Pease, the Year following we may sow Barley, for there will be time enough betwixt Harvest and Barley-sowing to give the Ground its due plowings. After the second Crop it must be fallow'd and dress'd before 'twill yield another, unless it be sow'd with Oats, which will much impoverish the Ground. 'Tis the best Method therefore to let old Land, after it has been broken up, to lie fallow the first Year, and if in good proof, 'twill, with a little help, yield three Crops successively.

In lesser Inclosures, which are converted to Tillage, I hold it the best Husbandry in the World, instead of head-Lands on which the Cattle turn, not to sow them, but to let them lie plain for Grass, as also a large Meer to be left, of ten or fourteen Yards breadth, under

all the Hedges which inclose the Tillage ; for these Borders will never bear good Corn, especially if the Hedges be quick, and high, and stor'd with Trees ; for the Shade of the Trees and Hedges, as also the Droppings from the Boughs, will destroy the Crop, as will also the Birds which lie continually in the Hedges. The Roots likewise of the Trees and Quick will rob the Corn of its due Nourishment. Let the Borders round about therefore be kept for Grass, which as it is most delightful to the Eye, and most commodious for walking, so is it most profitable : For the Washings or Land-Floods running off the Furrows, will fatten the bordering Meer in an extraordinary manner, and make it as rich as any Meadow-Ground ; as the Shade likewise of the Trees and Hedges will as well help forward Grass, how injurious soever they may be to Corn.

After the Crop is in the Barn, being hous'd dry, the next thing the honest Labourer or Husbandman is to consider of, is, to turn it into Money. Peradventure the safest way will be to thrash it out, as soon as the Season does require, and to send it to the Market ; for by long lying in the Barn, Rats and Mice will quickly draw their Mines, and make large Inroads ; nor will the Thief be wanting, as Occasion shall serve, to give a Cast of his Skill ; to which we may add the Incumbrance of the Barn for the Crop of a following Year. To keep it thrash'd in the Granary is



is altogether as bad; for 'twill be subject to the Assaults of Vermine, and unless often turn'd 'twill grow musty: Besides, 'twill contract a great deal of Dust and Filth, and the Grains of Corn will shrink or shrivel, and lose their bright Colour: All which will be of much more Detriment than what may be recompenc'd from the Advance of the Market, which commonly does lurch us by sinking lower, but rarely rising to that degree as to make amends for the Inconveniences we meet with by keeping in our Corn.

But if it be judg'd expedient to keep Grain, the best way is in the Straw, by putting it into a Rick, not rais'd upon Posts or Pillars of Wood, or of much Stone (as is usual with ordinary Husbandmen) but let the Frame of Wood which is to bear up the Rick, be laid upon five or nine Pillars, a full Yard from the Ground. The Pillars must be proportionable to the Burthen, being made round and strong, and finely plaister'd over, and cover'd with flat square Stones, four Foot in breadth each, to prevent Vermine from running up: For if the Pillars be square, tho' never so polish'd, Rats and Mice will run up the Corners; but on a round one they have not the least Hold for their Claws. The Rick also must be well thatch'd, to prevent Damage from foul Weather; and by this means Grain may be preserv'd sweet and entire for many Years.

There

There is this Thing farther which I would recommend to the Consideration of every Husbandman, (especially if he be a Gentleman,) *viz.* to avoid as much as possible the Covering of his Barns and Out-Houses with Straw : For besides that such Thatch'd Coverings looks mean and beggerly, 'tis certain that they will prove far more expensive than Tying in a little Process of Time. People are easily drawn to follow the Examples of the Country, to avoid a little greater Charge for the present, not considering that such Thatch'd Houses will be a continual Reparation and Expence : Every violent Gust or Puff of Wind tears them to pieces, and makes vast Breaches : Unluckey Birds are still pulling them, and the Rain, Snow, and Weather, will in a very short time rot such Coverings, and considerable Damage be sustain'd before Stuff and Thatcher can be brought in place. Whereas the Tiled Roofs, tho' a little more chargeable at first, will last a long while without Repair ; and when repair'd, it will be done at a quarter the Charge of Straw Roofs. 'Tis true, Thatch'd Houses are a better Security for Corn against Rain and Snow ; but then 'tis known too, that they harbour Birds, Rats, Mice, with other Vermine, and above all are most dangerous, so that many Houses have been burnt to the Ground, and whole Families undone  
by

by Fire catching in the Thatch. But in this and many other Methods, Country Fellows will never quit the old Road, how Ridiculous and Inconvenient soever it be, no more than the *Irish* can be wean'd from their old barbarous Custom of Tailing their Horses to one another, and to draw with them in their Teams.

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## C H A P. III.

*Of Pasturage.*

**P***asturage* is of several sorts : That wherein Sheep thrive best is the Lawnes, as also the wide and open Downs, such as those in *Cotsmold* and in *Wiltshire* ; for what is richer or ranker, by reason of the great Dewes that lie upon them, is apt to beget the Rot ; also hilly Ground, in which are many Springs and little Lakes, is very unwholsome : For where Sheep bite closest they thrive best, unless they be design'd for the Butcher, and then they must have a fuller Diet. There is no small Care to be taken in ordering the Pasture of such as are design'd for Breed or Store : Let them be kept in the Summer as bare as possible ; for if they once come to abate their Flesh, as certainly they will towards Winter, they will be a long time before they will come about ; but being hard kept in the Summer, and dispos'd into thriving Pasture towards Winter, they will keep their Fleeces whole upon their Backs, and be able to weather out the sharpest of that Season. Of the Usefulness of Fallow-Fields we have spoken before. Woods and rough Grounds are very hazardous for Sheep, for besides the Danger they are

are in of tearing their Fleeces, and sometimes of being hang'd in the Briars, they are subject to a Disease called the *Wood-Evil*, which is a Bladder of Water gathering in the Head, which makes them turn round, and so they will continue in the same place, and in that giddy turning Condition, till they die. When a Sheep therefore is taken with this Distemper the Butcher must cure him.

Nevertheless, young Cattle thrive best in rough woody Grounds, by reason of the Cover and the large Walks such Places yield; and by this means they are defended from the Fly and the Breeze. The Grass likewise of such Places, tho' coarse and sower, agrees well enough with young Cattle, which would not pay for their Keeping were they to feed in richer Pasture. Horses, especially where we would have a good Breed, require likewise a large Walk, and woody, such as those in Parks, which are dry and hard at the bottom, and withal stony, yet cover'd with a sweet Turf, and abounding with fresh Springs, Thickets, and some Lawnes or Pasturage dispers'd in Valleys, and fatned with little Rivulets. And upon this Score it is, that the Northern Parts afford the best Horses; for the Ground being poor they can afford them a larger Range, which helps their Wind, and teaches them to use their Legs, and the stony Ground makes their Heels tough and hard.

As for the Dayry, as also for the Working-Cattle, and the like, the better the Pasturage the better the Return. If the Ground be over-grown with Couch or Foggy Grass, the best way will be to eat it down in Winter, with hungry, hardy Cattle; and in the Spring, when the young Grass begins to peep out of the Ground, as certainly it will, and sooner than in other Pasturage, by reason of the thick dead Couch or Grass which keeps it warm, and defends it from the Winds and Frosts, then is the time to turn in Cattle, and especially Horses, which tasting of the young springing Grass, will pluck up the dead and wither'd together with it; afterwhich, let it be eaten bare with Sheep, which as they feed will fatten the Ground with their Dung, and by this means will the Ground be brought to a fine sweet Turf.

Pasture-Grounds are improv'd several ways at first; by sowing of Foreign Seeds, such as *Clover*, *St. Foin*, and the like; all which Seeds must be sown along with the Grain, or a little after, the Ground being prepar'd or made very fine: And by this means, when the Grain, which ought to be Barley, is above Ground, and grown to some strength, the seed, whether of *Clover*, or of *St. Foin*, for the purpose will be springing up, without Prejudice to the Crop, and keep back and suppress Weeds, which otherways would endanger the Corn, and poison the Ground for some time after.

*Clover*



*Clover* thrives almost in all sorts of Ground, unless very stony or very wet Land; but 'tis most proper for a mix'd Land, such as partakes of a Sand, and something a fatter Glebe. The same Manurement or Dressing which serves for Barley will serve likewise for *Clover*, which will last good in the Ground for three Years; by which means that Land which was not worth a Noble an Acre, will be worth 30 s. an Acre. This sort of Grass may be mow'd twice a Year; the first Crop serves for Hay, the second they cut for Seed about the middle of *September*, when the Blossoms are fully wither'd for it must lie withering on the Ground for some time, and be hous'd very dry, which is something difficult, by reason of the long Dews and the declining Sun at this Season of the Year. This sort of Grass is very good for Horses, and to feed Pigs, and fatten Sheep. But for Cattle, as Cows or Oxen, if they be turn'd in hungry they will be in danger of over-filling themselves, and by this means to swell and burst; for this sort of Food is exceeding sweet and luscious. The way then is to turn in Cattle when they are full, tho' at the best this sort of Food is not so kind for them as Grass. When the *Clover* is worn out of the Ground as generally it lasts not above three or four Years at most, the Ground will quickly come to a grassy Turf; so that I hold it absolutely necessary for every one who lays down his Ground for Pasturage, to leave it with *Clover*. This sort of Improvement is much practis'd in

Hereford

Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and some Parts of Gloucestershire; and after some little Interval of Time, it may be renew'd again upon the same Ground, and so on; the Soil being first duly dress'd and prepar'd for Corn.

*St. Foin*, where it likes the Ground, is much more profitable than *Clover*, because of longer Continuance: It requires a quite different Soil from *Clover*, for it thrives best in a hilly, stony, cold, and barren Ground, but dry, such as that in the higher Parts of Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, and other Places of the Kingdom. This sort of Grass may be mow'd from Year to Year, for divers Years together; and when it dies, after a few Years Intermision, the sowing of it may be renew'd again upon the same Ground, &c. The Fodder is exceeding good for Horses, and not unkind for Cattle; so that by means hereof, the Ground which before was not worth Two Shillings an Acre, shall be worth Twenty Shillings an Acre, and better. The Reason why *St. Foin* thrives so well in dry, stony, barren Ground, is this: It is a Plant which shoots its small fibrous Roots a great depth in the Ground, deeper far than Grain or Common Herbs, which, by reason of the stony Surface, cannot run low; whereas *St. Foin* creeps deep by its Roots betwixt the Joints of the Stones, where the Vegetative Nutriment cannot be suck'd by such Plants as feed upon the Surface, which generally lies no deeper than the Plow. And because *St. Foin* requires

a dry Soil, such barren, dry Ground is most fit for it; the stony Surface and the declining Situation utterly forbidding any Moisture to sink far into it.

Clover likewise shoots down a good depth, but not so deep as St. Foin, and is in a short time supplanted by other Herbs, forasmuch as it prospers best in a thriving and loose Soil, and generally we may observe, that such Herbs as are perennial, shoot deep, roots downwards, as Hops, Docks, Ferne, Broom, Nettles, and the like, whereas they which are annual, ly shallow on the Surface.

Ray or Rye Grain is a spiry benty sort of Grass, and is another kind of improvement, much of the same continuance with Clover, and thrives best in Cold, Wet and Gauly Ground; it is not so much in Vogue as Clover, or St. Foin.

Another way of improving Pasturage is by Soil, or dressing of the Ground, such as Dung which has been rotting some Years; as likewise Shovelings of Folds, and the Mud of Pools and Ditches after two or three Years mellowing. But I know not any thing which improves Pasturage more than Mault-Dust; so that every one who Trades in selling of Mault, may securely promise himself, that the Dust and Winnowings of his Mault, after it has lain some time, will prove a very considerable part of his Gain.

The Improvement of Pasturage by watering is next to be consider'd: For if it be by a

Land



Land-Flood, and conveniently distributed by Furrows, it is of great advantage; but if the Water ly long upon it, it chills the Ground, and makes it bring forth Rushes, and such like Trash, or a sort of thin, withern, starv'd Grass, but above all, where a Ground is well dress'd with rotten Dung or Earth, and a Land-Flood, or other Water can conveniently be brought over it, without much washing or stay, it must needs make the Ground very fruitful. The Season of dressing Pasture is in the Frost: For then the Wheels will not cut into the Earth, and after the Frost is over the Compost or Earth which is laid on, will be crumbly and moulder. For certain it is, that the finer the Earth or Compost which is thrown upon it is, the more Grass it will yield: Upon which account it is, that Pasture Grounds bordering upon great Roads, are more fruitful in Grass than others; for the Dust which is raised in them, being carried by the Wind, and falling upon the tender Herbs, the next Shower carries it easily to the Roots, so that all parts of the Ground is alike Powdered with this sort of Dust, which is generally fatter than common Earth by reason of the Dungings of Cattle, and Trash which is commonly cast into the High-ways.

Any Ground which lies upon the Hangings of a Hill and has a Pool or Currant above it, is highly to be valued: For such Ground may be watered at any time, and the Water will be sure not to stand upon it, which is a thing

most pernicious to Pasture; and if such hanging Ground as I am speaking of be lightly drefs'd with Earth before the Water is turn'd over it, 'twill bring forth Grass in abundance. I have known some, who having the advantage of a Pool at the Head of a declining Ground, have thrown into the Water a great deal of Soil or Dung, and all the time of watering their Ground, have ordered a Horse or two to be rid or walk'd up and down the Pool during the running of the Water; so that four or five Loads of Dung thus cast into it, will help the Ground better than five times as much clean Dung cast or spread upon the Ground: for the muddy fat Water will be sure to find the Root of every Herb, whereas Dung laid upon the Ground, tho' never so well spread, will lie in little heaps, and a good part of it will dry or burn away without any Benefit.

Lime thrown upon Pasture, if chill and cold, will bring it to a fine thick Mat of Grass: but whether the Benefit will answer the Cost and Charge, unless it be where Lime is very cheap, I leave to the Husbandman's Pocket to consider. To mix Lime with Earth first, and so let them lie together in a heap, bakeing, is no good way; for the Lime, when slack'd, will make the Earth as hard almost as a Rock, so that being to be spread upon the Ground, 'twill lie in great Cakes or Flakes, and will not be turn'd to a Powder till the Strength and Virtue of the Lime is spent. The best way therefore is to lay the Lime in little heaps, (as

we do upon Tillage,) and after it is slack'd, and cast into the Air, the Wind will scatter the Powder of it finely upon the Ground, which the next Shower of Rain, or the very Dews of the Night, will convey gradually to the Roots of the Grass.

The last way of Improving Pasture-Grounds is by freeing them from such things as do annoy and hurt them, such as Ants, Broom, Fern, Wood-wax, or Dyers-weed, Docks, Thistles, Nettles, and the like. As for Ants, the time of destroying them is in the beginning of Winter, by digging up their Hillocks, and sinking their Holes lower than the Level of the Ground, throwing the Core or Earth, which is dug out of the Hole, into an empty Cart, and casting it into a Pool of Water; for by throwing it upon the Ground, they will revive again in the Spring, and raise new Heaps, after they have endur'd all the Severities of the Winter-Season, whether of Rain or Frost; so that, after two or three Years, for one Hillock you shall have a dozen: For I have found by Experience, that Ants which have been frozen up in Clods of Earth as hard as the Stone, will crawl about and work again in the Spring. They then who would practise this Method of Husbandry, by digging out the Core, must quarter the Turf of the Hillocks first, and after the Core is taken out, turn the Turf in outwardly, and so cover the hole, leaving it sunk a little lower than the ordinary Surface of the Ground,



Ground, as I said before, that so the Water may sink in and kill them; for there is no destroying them but by Water. This Method likewise must be practis'd at the beginning of Winter, that there may be time enough for the Water to soak them; tho' after all, the surest way to destroy these mischievous Vermine, is to plow up the Ground and Till it with Corn; for this will do the Business effectually, and for many Years: And truly all Pasture-Grounds whatsoever, will call for this Method of Husbandry once in twenty Years, by which means the Grass will come up the sweeter and better, if the Ground be laid down in good heart. But if this Method shall not prove successful, the last and surest Remedy the Husbandman can have recourse to, is to graze the Ground so turn'd, as I have before describ'd, with Sheep, for the following Year; for these Cattle, by nipping the Grass close to the Ground, and by often walking over it, keep down the Ants; for 'tis by the Spring-Grass they climb up, and make their Hillocks in the Summer, where you may see them climb up a foot high, up to the tops of Grass, carrying up Earth and fastening it to the sides; therefore all which is finally avoided, I say, by keeping the Grass down by the Teeth and Feet of such Sheep.

Broom is another Enemy to Pasturage, and to destroy it the most effectual way is, to let it grow for three or four Years, and when it is in Blossom, (as it will be in May) to cut

with a Hook pretty close to the Ground; for then it is that all the Sap and Strength of the Plant is up, and being cut off, I say, the scorching Heat of the Summer will make the remaining Stub to wither and die, and consequently the Root, there being nothing to draw it: But they who practise this sort of Husbandry must be sure to leave no young under-shoots of Broom; for such, tho' they seem never so inconsiderable, will quickly draw the Root and get to a head. They who endeavour to kill Broom by plowing, or stocking of it up, do throw away their Money and Time, for it will come up ten times thicker than before. Sowing the Ground with Clover will go a great way in destroying of Broom, and sometimes it will utterly kill it, by reason it draws a stronger Juice; but, above all, the sowing of *St. Foin*, without all dispute, will utterly kill it, forasmuch as it goes much deeper into the Ground than the Roots of Broom, and engrosses or draws all the vegetative Virtue of the Earth unto it self.

The way to destroy Fern is to whip off the young Heads of it with a Switch as soon as it peeps out of the Ground; for then 'tis very tender, and will weep or bleed exceedingly: This being done five or six times in a Year, (for so often will it get head again,) and continu'd under this Method for two Years, it will utterly destroy it. A Boy in an Hour's time may whip off the heads of so much Fern as will poison an Acre of Ground; so that ten

or twelve Hours Labour bestow'd upon a piece of Ground, viz. an Hour at a time, will purge a Field from this devouring Weed: For by often whipping of it, it bleeds and is bruis'd, and the scorching Sun withers it in the same way as I have before describ'd in Broom.

Dyers-weed, or Wood-wax, where it grows, is a most pernicious Weed; it robs the Ground exceedingly, and its Bitterness will not suffer any Cattle to eat it, nor will it be destroy'd by mowing. The only way I could ever find, is to graze the Ground which is pester'd with it, by Sheep, and eat it bare; for Sheep bite close, and love this sort of Herb very well, and it is said moreover to preserve them from the Rot; and the Hay or Fother made thereof is good for them in the Winter.

As for Thistles, they are not to be destroy'd as Fern, by cutting: Breaking-up and sowing the Ground with Clover is the best way to kill them, and sometimes they will die of themselves: The like also may be said of Docks, Nettles, and such-like Trash, which proceed commonly from the indigested Rankness of the Soil. Liming of the Ground, whether Tillage or Pasture, does very much contribute to the Suppression of these Weeds.

Moss is a great Impoverisher of Ground, and is the pure Effect of old Age, or of worn out Nature; so that growing in a kind of thick Mat or Scurf upon the Surface of the Earth, it robs the Herbs of their due Nourishment;



or more probably, I say, the Earth being worn out of heart, is able to put forth nothing but this dry kind of Trash: And altho' dressing the Ground with rich Earth or Dung may encourage the Earth to put forth anew, yet 'twill never answer the Charge and soon return to Moss again; like an old over-worn Man, who, tho' he may get a little Strength and Warmth, by means of a plentiful and nourishing Diet, yet as soon as that's withdrawn, Nature relapses to its former State of Languor and Imbecility. There is no other way then to destroy Moss, but by breaking-up such Pasture and tilling it with Corn; for this brings up the Mould which for a long time lay under the Turf, which being expos'd to the Sun and Dews, quickly acquires a prolifick or vegetative Virtue.

The dividing of Pasture-Grounds into little Closes is not the most profitable; for besides the Vexation and Expence one will be at perpetually in making and repairing such Fences, as also the Loss of Ground by Hedges and Ditches, certain 'tis that Cattle thrive far better in a large Walk; for the Grass which grows under the Droppings of Trees is soure and trashy, and in the Summer-Season, when Cattle are subject to the Breeze, they will not be so apt to break out where they have the Liberty to range. Likewise 'tis much more easie to have Water in a large Field of forty Acres, than to furnish the same with Water when divided into six or seven little Grounds; for in so  
great

great a Space as a Field of forty Acres, 'tis ten to one but we may find some one place which may serve the Necessities of Cattle: But to find the like Convenience in divers Parts or Quarters of the same Ground, is very rare and difficult; so that I dare boldly affirm, that a piece of Ground of ten Acres will keep a Stock of Cattle longer than four Closes of three Acres each, tho' of the same Nature and Goodness. For in lesser Grounds Cattle quickly walk over them, and being sullied and stained with their Feet, they will not care to feed thereon: whereas in larger Fields they have room to range and feed till the stained Places be refreshed with Rain or with the Dews.

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## CHAP. IV.

### *Of Fences.*

**M***ounds* and *Fences* are Matters of great Moment in Husbandry, and they are of two sorts, being either Dead or Quick. Dead Fences are Banks or Bulwarks of Earth, Stone Walls, Pales, Ditches, or Current of Water, and the like: For unless these things be put in good order, all our Industry about our Pasturage and Tillage will signifie but little whilst they lie expos'd to Treipassings and Wast.

As for Banks of Earth they are most us'd near Cities, where 'tis impossible almost to raise a Quick-Hedge, by reason of the great Numbers of Poor who inhabite the Out-skirts, who upon all Occasions, and especially in cold Weather, will make Plunder of whatsoever is combustible. The great Multitude likewise of Citizens and of idle Persons, walking for their Pleasure, as also of Gentlemen and Country People resorting continually to Cities, upon the score of Marketing, and other Business, all Inclosures of this kind will unavoidably be laid wast, especially in the Winter-Season, and 'twill require some Years for the Repair of a Quickset-Hedge; whereas Banks of Earth  
are



are easily mended, and not easily assaulted by Horsemen, nor liable to be spoil'd upon the account of Fewel: Such kind of Fences are very proper for Corn, there being no Harbour for Birds, nor Shade; but for Pasturage they are not so convenient, as affording neither Shelter against the Sun or Weather.

Fences of Pales are us'd generally about Parks, the ruggedness of the Clefts being very proper to hinder Deer from breaking out. It is easie also to open or shut a Breach, by removing or pinning two or three Poles, a thing very convenient for an Inclosure of Chace.

Stone Walls are too chargeable, unless in such Places where the Ground is naturally dry and stony, as on *Cotswold* Hills; for there the Stones lie in all Places ready to hand, there being no more to be done but to lay them orderly upon one another: And this kind of Stone-work, laid dry, and without Mortar, will continue for Ages. As for Canals, or Streams of Running-Water, they are the best Boundaries of all: For besides the Advantage derivable to the Ground by watering, they afford infinite Pleasure and Profit by Fish, and serving the Occasions of Cattle, and sometimes also by Traffick, as in the *Low-Countreys*, and likewise in *Lombardy*, where those rich Meadows are at the same time water'd, by an infinite Number of Trenches or Channels all cut by hand, and replenish'd with great Variety of Fish. As for Ditches

fill'd

fill'd with dead or standing Water, they are industriously to be avoided, as affording in the Summer-Season most noisome Smells and Vapours, breeding great quantities of Flies and Insects, as their Water is most unwholesome and dangerous for Cattle.

Quickset-Hedges consist generally of Holly, Hazle, Hip-briar, Brambles, the Black and White Thorn, &c. Holly is better rais'd by Berries than by Sets, tho' there be but few who designedly plant them, but in the Walks of Gardens, and then, I say, they are rais'd by Berries, and are esteem'd for being ever Green, and for their Red Fruit or Berries. The Holly which is edg'd or fring'd with a silver kind of Thread is accounted very ornamental in the choicest Gardens. Holly has this Advantage above all other Quicks, for it will thrive best among great Trees, as Oaks and Elms, especially Elms; when other Quicks will not grow, by reason of the strong nourishment which such greater Trees draw, to the Consumption of what is planted near them.

Hazle, tho' a quick grower where it likes the Ground, ought not designedly to be planted; for the Leaves and Skirts being extraordinary sweet and tender, all sorts of Cattle prey most eagerly upon it, to the ruine of a hedge. Hip and Haws, as well as Hazle, are best planted by Birds and Vermine: For such Creatures making Nuts and Berries to be their ordinary Food, fly with them, or carry them

them from Place to Place, and so dropping them up and down the Hedges, or else hiding them under Ground, at Spring some will be sure to sprout. Brambles grow naturally enough we may suppose; tho' 'tis true too, that the Seeds of Black-berries, scatter'd by Birds, or otherwise, up and down the Hedges, beget a large Encrease; and the Shoots or Strings of them running along the Ground, quickly take root, (as we see in Straw-berries) and will over-run the Ground, if not timely subdued.

But the two common Quicksets, by which Husbandmen raise their Hedges, are the Black and White Thorn, call'd the Haw-Thorn. As for the Black Thorn, the Quicks or Sets are not very apt to grow, but where they once take root they are never to be destroy'd, and they make the best Fence of any; for it is hardy and stubborn, and by being a prickly Shrub, Cattle are not apt to bruise it: One Inconveniency it has, that it is apt to spread wider than it should do, by sending forth new Shoots from the Root at some distance from the Hedge, and, if not carefully look'd after, will quickly over-run a Ground. The White or Haw-Thorn is the most usual Quick which the Husbandman makes use of for the raising of Hedges; for the Sets are good Greens, and withal thorny and prickly; but the Leaves or tender Buds being sweet, Cattle, and especially Sheep, will endanger them very much, if not carefully prevented, either by washing them



them with Lime, or by making Dead Fences before them till they be grown out of Danger.

The Season for planting of Quick, holds good from the beginning of *December* to the middle of *February*, and sometimes later, if the Spring be backward. 'Tis infinitely better to plant Quick on the Ditch-side than on the Field-side; for on the Field-side they will be sure to be nipp'd with Cattle, but on the Ditch-side the Sets are safe from the drying Sun, as also from Cattle which graze on the Field-side, especially if some Shrubs, Bushes of Black Thorn, be prick'd in over them with the Stakes which make the Dead Hedges.

Some in planting of Hedges will set Acorns, Ash-keys, Crab-quicks, and the like: But I look not upon this Method to be so profitable to the Hedge; for such Trees, when grown up to any bigness, will rob the Hedge Wood of its due Nourishment, and leave Gaps near the Bodies of such Trees, and will stand in need of continual Repair; and altho' the Crop of such over-grown Trees may serve for Fuel, yet I look upon it to be a much better Hedge which shall never stand in need of Repair, as I have said before. However it be, every Man may follow that which he finds most profitable.

Cutting or Plashing of Hedges is another thing which we are to have regard to, which besides that it must be done in due Season, that is, in the Winter, or very early in the Spring,

Spring, great care is to be had furthermore to the manner of cutting: A felling or down-right Blow is too apt to make a Cleft in the Stub, which will rot and deaden; it is better therefore to cut upwards, if one can conveniently come at it. Likewise we must be sure to leave good store of bushy Thorns or Broom on the sides of the Quick-Hedges; for these serve for a Defence to keep off Cattle from brouzing upon the tender Shoots of a new-plash'd Hedge; and after two Years time, such Shoots will grow strong and be out of the reach of Cattle, and then we may safely cut away or trim off the Under-growings or bushy Fuel for our Occasions: Whereas he who cuts the top of a Hedge, and the under-wood or side Spriggs all at once, endangers the killing of his Fence, the Cattle having free scope and liberty to nip off the tender Buds in all Places as fast as they shoot out.

For the same Reason likewise I hold it no good Husbandry to be over-curious in grubbing up of Thorns or Bushes which grow near a Quick-Hedge; for these are, as it were, the Out-works which preserve the main Fence safe, which being once cut away, the principal Fence lies open to the Injuries of Cattle. When a Hedge is grown very old, and stubby 'tis best to cut it up at the Butt, leaving only here and there a Layer or Pleacher, the Mould being first cast up carefully to the Bank, to cherish the Roots of such Thorns or Hedge-wood from whence the dead Stuff was cut.

For the Safety and Defence whereof a dead Hedge must be made at two Yards distance, the Brush lying on the Field-side to keep off Cattle from doing Mischief, whilst the new-laid Hedge is a recovering. This Art of Husbandry, or double Hedging, is not to be practis'd but where there is plenty of Tynnel, and there the Charge or Expence is no other but the Hire of Tynning, which is inconsiderable; and after three Years time it may be taken away ready cut and dried for the Fire. In all dead Gaps of Hedges 'tis very expedient to make the Stakes of Sally or Withy, for they will prove quick, and grow, and afford plentiful Matter for the Repair of Hedges from time to time.

There is a sort of dead Hedging which is commonly practis'd with good Advantage, especially near Lanes, and that is by pricking or sticking Thorns slant or slope-ways upon the Bank, and covering the bottoms of them with Turf. This sort of Fence will hold good for a Year or two, and has this Advantage, that as Cattle will not destroy it by brouzing, so neither will it be in danger of being diminish'd by Hedge-breakers, there being nothing which may tempt them thereunto, as in Stake-Hedges, where the Tynnel is of much greater Substance. This sort of Hedging is of very little Charge, and where a Breach is made it is easily repair'd; only Care must be took from time to time, as the Bank shall wash away into the hollow Road and Ditch on the other side,



not to repair it by digging new Earth on the Fields-side to cover the Thorns; for by this means the Ground will in time be wasted away, leaving a deep Ditch or Trench behind. The way then must be to cast up the Earth which is mouldred down into the hollow way, and so repair the Bank or Bulwark; which, tho' it be a little more troublesome, will preserve the Ground from being wasted by frequent digging.

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C H A P.

## CHAP. V.

*Of Grass rais'd from Foreign Seeds.*

**E**VERY Man that is a Member of a Commonwealth may be consider'd in a double Capacity: First, as he stands alone, and in his Private and Domestick Capacity; Next, as he is a Member of a Body, and in his Relative and Civil Capacity. If we consider him under the first Circumstance, we must look upon him as a Creature acting upon Self-Interest, whether it be in getting and augmenting his Fortune by Industry and Labour; by Traffick, by Cunning, by Study, Employments, Preferments, &c. or by securing himself from Wrong, or by providing for and advancing his Family; and, in a word, by gratifying his Desires in all true or imaginary Enjoyments, and Contents, whether they concern his own Person or those who are nearly related to and dependent on him.

But then, as he is a Member of a Commonwealth, his Duty extends it self much farther; for 'tis with the Body-Politick as with the Body-Natural: If any one Member shall refuse to be beneficial to its Fellows, it must not expect the like Relief from them; by which means there will follow such a kind

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Jarring or Discord amongst the Parts of the Body, as will draw on a Distemper and perhaps a Dissolution, which cannot but be fatal to the disagreeing Members themselves. 'Tis true, it concerns every Man to provide for his own private Affairs in the first place for if he leaves it for others to do it for him he will quickly find himself in a very naked Condition, so prevalent is Self-Interest, which will first begin and many times end at home. And yet all this while, a Man, whilst he is thus busie about his private Interest, differs very little from Brutes: For these know very well what is for their own good, and will labour always to procure the same; many of which are as sagacious and provident for their future Benefit, as the most subtle and industrious of Humane Race. Duties therefore of this kind may be called Animal or Sensitive as being common with Men and Beasts as they are living Creatures. But Duties which concern the Publick are of a higher and more distinguishing Nature, as being of a larger Extent, and carry some Marks of Divinity in them, forasmuch as they level at the General Good, by promoting Peace and Justice, and serve consequently to render Kingdoms and future Ages stable and flourishing, and may be esteem'd therefore to be much more noble than the former, as being founded in Reason and Prudence, and diffusing their Influence over all the World.



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Now to apply these Notions to the Point in question; and first, It is, questionless, the Inclination of every Man to improve his Estate as much as he can by the Arts of Husbandry, as we may suppose in our present Case, by sowing his Ground with Foreign Seeds, such as *St. Foin*, *Clover*, &c. But whether it be for the Interest of the Commonwealth to countenance and permit such Improvements may be a Question: For if it shall appear that such Plantations are Injurious to the Publick, according to what's already premis'd, the Government has Power to restrain Men from pursuing their Domestick and Private Advantage, when it shall be to the Detriment of the same Persons, as they stand engag'd in a Publick Body or Society.

The Considerations tempting us to believe that such Innovations in Husbandry ought to be permitted, are these, *viz.* Besides the Benefit which a vast Number of Persons reap from Improvements of this nature, certain it is, that great Numbers of Cattle are rais'd this way, and consequently more Corn, because more Dung: Nor can *Clover*, for the purpose, be continu'd but for a little time without Tillage. Now the more Corn and Cattle are rais'd, the cheaper must all Provisions be, which are generally look'd upon to be a Benefit to the Publick.

This Reason, how specious and popular soever it may seem upon the first Appearance, will, upon a nearer View, be found to be very

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thin and fallacious: And first, If we consider the Interest of Private Persons, what Reason is there that some Private Persons should be suffer'd to grow rich and get Estates by the Loss of a far greater Number of Private Persons, no less Industrious and Honest than their Neighbours? 'Tis true, where Men riotously or sottishly wast their Estates, their Neighbours may gather Sticks, and into the Bargain make themselves warm by the Fire of them. But for the Primitive, Ancient, and Native ways of Pasturage, so useful and necessary to the Nation, as those of Graizing and of the Dairy, to be supplanted, with all the Families thereon depending, by the Invasion of Foreigners, may be as mischievous to the good old Husbandman as any other Invasion, whether of such as assault us by open force, or of those more dangerous ones who endeavour to trapan us by fraudulent Cajolery.

The Plantation of Tobacco in *England* is a Production certainly which would be beneficial to a world of People both Planters and Smoakers; and yet we find that it hath been destroy'd by Publick Order, from time to time, as fast as ever it grew up; and this because it ruin'd others who before were settled in a Trade: Why then there should not be the same Reason against *Clover*, *St. Foin*, *Rye Grass*, and other Foreign Weeds, we are yet to learn, especially when we consider the Duties or Payments, whether Parochial or Publick, with which Ancient Estates are bur-

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then'd. For tho' it be certainly true, that Meadow and Feeding Grounds are fallen at least Fifteen *per Cent.* since the Importation of these Foreign sorts of Grass, yet are they liable to the same Rates or Payments with which they were charg'd before they were impoverish'd by these Outlandish Usurpers; whereas Lands, which the last Year, perhaps, were not worth above Five Shillings an Acre, after they are sown with *Clover* or *St. Foin*, are worth, yearly, Twenty five or Thirty Shillings *per Acre*, and notwithstanding such Advance of Profit, are in a manner not-free, paying only after the Proportion of their old Rents, upon Pretence, forsooth, that no Man ought to pay for his Improvements; which thing is false both in Reason and Practice. But that Lands, on the other hand, which sink in their Value by the Inroachments of others, should be still stretch'd upon the Rack, whilst the Productions which undermine them return triple Profit to the Proprietor, without Augmentation of Duty, are maxims very unpolitick, irrational, and unjust. The Ancient Fundamental Course which has been found profitable and useful for so many Ages, ought not to be expel'd by Foreign Upstarts, which, tho' upon the Account of their Novelty, they may get some Admirers and Followers, will be found in the Close to be of mischievous Consequence to the Publick, as will appear farther, if we consider the second General Argument offer'd on their Be-



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half, *viz.* the Plenty and Encrease of Corn and Cattle.

'Tis very true, by means of these foreign Growths more Corn and Cattle are rais'd than would be otherwise; but this still is no Benefit to the Publick, when the Abundance and Plenty shall lower the Price: For every one knows that 'tis more Profit to have one Bushel of Corn which shall bring him Five Shillings than to sell two Bushels of the same Grain for Six; because, when things are dear, the Return is made at less than half the Expence; and when Commodities are cheap, then is Money dear or scarce, because there must be a great deal of Goods in Exchange for a little Money; as on the contrary, when Commodities are dear then is Money cheap, because a little Ware will purchase a great deal of Money: And certain it is, that it is infinitely better for a Commonwealth, when Money (which is the Blood of the Body-Political) circulates quickly, and is distributed through all the Parts, than when it stagnates or lies dead in a few Mens Hands, while Commerce, and all the Business of the Market, shall be at a Stand by too much Repletion, which must needs occasion a Stoppage of Money: For, to speak truly, none reap the Benefit of Plenty but the poorer sort of People, nor do they truly; for so it is, that in the Years of Plenty, Workmen are harder to be procur'd, and those most exacting too, because a few Days Labour will maintain them

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great while. The Plenty does but tempt them to Laziness and Riot, which in the end leads them into Misery, and becomes expensive and burthensome to the Publick; so that it will be still better that the Market should be quick, (and quick it will be when Provisions are scarce,) than to have it over-glutted, which cannot but discourage Labour and Industry, as it will certainly encourage Sloth and Beggery.

What I speak as to Scarcity, is to be understood in a moderate measure; for if it tend to Dearth, it cannot but be very prejudicial and grievous to all sorts of People: so that how great a Blessing soever Plenty may be thought, certain 'tis that it does dispose Men to Intemperance and Excess, and is then only to be look'd upon as a Blessing, when what is superfluous may be exported abroad, and bring us home such things as we stand in need of. And as to the Productions of what we are now discoursing, 'tis no less certain that they endamage the Publick in many other respects, it being known to every one, that the Flesh of Sheep or Cattle, fatted by such sorts of Grass, is sady, worse colour'd and worse tasted than what is Grass-fed; so likewise is the white Meat, or the Cheese and Butter made of such Pasturage.

Upon these and such-like Considerations we may affirm, securely, that as it is the Interest, so is it in the Power of the Civil Magistrate to banish these Foreign Productions, because

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because detrimental to the greater part of the Nation; or, if continu'd, 'twould be much for its Interest to impose a Duty, as a Crown for the purpose, yearly, upon every Acre so planted; which would be some Help towards defraying the Publick Charge, and leave the Planters or Husbandmen sufficient Gainers by the Bargain. 'Tis the Duty of the Magistrate not to debar any from their Rights and Liberty, but by all due Provisions to support them in the same. But when the Interest of Particular Persons shall stand in Competition with that of a greater Body, (as it is sufficiently demonstrated that it does in the present Case,) 'tis certainly in his Power to reduce them into their former Methods of living, and not suffer them to injure a greater Body by new Projects tending to their Private Interest. Nor is this to abridge Men of their Rights, but to confine them to their present State and Condition of Life, upon Considerations of a more General Good.

Nor does this, which is now deliver'd, any way prejudice or contradict the Design of an after-Essay, as to the Business of excluding Sea-coal from the City of *London*; because, in that case, the Change is suppos'd to be of infinite more Advantage to the City, (and in a manner to the whole Kingdom,) than the Continuance; and tho' some Persons may be prejudic'd in their Interests, yet is their Number very inconsiderable, compar'd with those who shall be better'd by the Change: Nor  
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an they be so great Losers by the Bargain as the Grassiers and the Pasture-Men of this Nation, especially in those Parts where such Foreign Productions are found to grow.

To conclude this little Dispute: There cannot be a more competent Judge in the present Question than the *English* Nation it self, represented in its Parliaments, particularly in that Provision which they have made formerly against the Importation of *Irish* Cattle. 'Tis very well known, that after the Desolation made in that Kingdom, Thousands of *English* Families were encourag'd by the Government then in being, to remove Themselves and Substance, and to settle there, as it were in form of a Colony, in order to Re-people that almost ruin'd and abandon'd Island: And because the Country was most proper for the breeding of Cattle, they began soon to take Root, sending over vast Drovers into *England*, and driving a very considerable Trade amongst their Friends and Correspondents, the Effect of which being found very prejudicial to this Nation, and to such especially whose chiefest Revenue depended likewise upon the breeding of Cattle. The Parliament, I say, finding the Markets every where to sink, and the Farmers likewise to be unable to pay their Rent, as being depriv'd of the Means of raising Money, and consequently that Land-Taxes (the common Expedient to which the Nation has recourse) would become very uneasie and heavy upon the Subject: They,

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in their great Foresight of the ill Consequences of this *Irish* Liberty, thought fit to prohibit all farther Importations; and by this means enabled the *English* to hold up their Heads again, and bear their Burthens, proceeding in their former Road of breeding Cattle, as in Ancient Times. Now if the Parliament dealt thus with *Ireland*, who were their Fellow-Subjects under the *English* Crown, nay, *English* Men, and their Neighbours; for they were for the most part the *English* who carried on the *Irish* Cattle-Trade, and such *English* too as had been drawn over into *Ireland* upon large Promises of Favour and Assistance; I cannot see but that there is infinite greater Reason to reduce our Traders in Foreign Grass, so much prejudicial to the Pasturage of this Kingdom; which Pasturage, I say, so much impoverish'd as it is, is still forc'd to lie under the heavy Weight of Taxes, whilst the new Planters, or Supplanters rather, who cause this so great a Decay of Pasturage, are at full Ease, and in the very Letter of the Country Proverb, *lie fattening in Clover*.

C H A P.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Of Commonage and Inclosures.*

**A**Nother Question issuing from the former Discourse, is about the Rights of Commonage and Inclosures; where, in the first place, we are to understand, that the Question is not, Whether the Supreme Authority hath a Power to uncommon wast Grounds, when 'tis attended with Remarkable Benefit, (as in the Case of the wast Grounds near *London*, shall be hereafter discours'd of?) for that I take to be indisputable. The Question then will be, first in General, Whether the Commoners, or the Proprietors, have the more Ancient Title? Secondly, Whether it would be more for the Interest of a Nation, that there should be many wide Heaths and Commons, as now they are? or that all were inclos'd and improv'd to the utmost Advantage.

I begin with the First, concerning which the Difficulty will not be great, it being obvious to every one that in the first Ages of the World we rarely read of Inclosures. Properties indeed they had of Servants and Cattle, and in the Number of these consisted their Wealth, but for Propriety of Land we meet with



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with nothing saving those Common Boundaries or Land-Marks, (which were Rivers generally, or Mountains) by which the Possessions of Nations, or greater Families were discriminated; which Families were not like those of our Age, consisting of a Master, with his Wife, Children or Domesticks; but the Families of those days were a kind of little Principalities, where one presided in Chief over the several Branches or Members depending on him, whether they descended from his Body, or whether they were of a younger House, comprehending in the account all Servants, with their Offspring; all Captives, and such as were purchas'd with Money: So that a Family then might consist of Several Hundreds of individual Persons, and might be made up of divers subordinate and inferiour Families, all depending upon one common Head. This, as it is most obvious from all Profane Story, and more especially from the Sacred Writings; so is it as plain too from the same Sacred Writings, that the *Jewish* Patriarchs liv'd for a long time, in Tents, *wandering from place to place*, as they found Conveniencies for feeding of their Cattle.

We find indeed, that the *Babylonians*, as also the *Egyptians*, the Two most ancient and flourishing Monarchs of which we read; That they built them Cities with stately Walls, and other prodigious Piles which they left as Monuments of their Greatness to future Ages. 'Tis certain likewise, That there were many other inferi-

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our Cities, of which we read often in Scripture, such as *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*. The *Canaanites* also had Cities with Walls looking high towards Heaven; but all this while, there is no Proof of Enclosures of Pasturage, nor yet probably of Corn-Fields; for then there must have been diversities of Farms or single Houses, as now there are: But of this we read nothing, only that Men liv'd still together in some kind of a Body, which is no other but a City.

As for Pasturage 'twas all in Common; but in regard that Corn not being rais'd but with Labour and Charge, 'tis probable that the Prince or Head of the Family or People undertook the Burthen, appointing afterwards to every one of his Servants or Dependants his due Portion. But in after Ages, as Men began to thirst after Conquest, and many Contentions arising daily about the Divisions of the Fruits of the Earth, 'twas thought Expedient that every Man's Propriety should be secur'd by particular Limits or Enclosures; which hapned frequently upon a Conquest, where the Services of private Persons were rewarded by the Conquerors assigning out of the Lands of the Vanquished Country, a certain portion of Ground to every man, as his Service might deserve.

This was the Case of the *Jews* upon their Entrance into *Canaan*; and ours likewise in *England*, upon the *Norman* Invasion, as also of the *Romans* sometimes, unless those whom they

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they subdu'd became Tributaries ; tho generally, the *Romans* dealing bountifully with the conquer'd Nations, did naturalize or incorporate them amongst their Citizens, which Clemency of theirs rais'd that Empire to its Greatness, few caring to resist such Generous and Potent Enemies, who were so easie to be entreated, so faithful to their Allies, and so able and resolute to protect those who submitted to them.

But to return to my Argument, From what has been hinted 'tis unquestionable, That the Rights and Title of Commonage are much antienter than those of Enclosures ; I mean, in the general ; and with us here in *England*, the Rights of our present Commoners seem to have begun upon the Conquest, when King *William* and his Successors, reserving to themselves certain Lands for Forests and Chaces, and for the Preservation of Game, the Inhabitants bordering upon such Places, under some Fine of acknowledgment or Vassalage were allowed the Priviledge of keeping Cattle on them with some other Advantages, the Kings still retaining to themselves the Royalty or Benefit of such Places for the Preservation of Deer and for their own Sport and Recreation. The like Constitution hereunto we may observe in other Manors or Lordships, deriv'd at first from the Crown ; so that the Commoners Title, in this respect, preceeds that of any Proprietor. Forasmuch as the whole Kingdom then, tho beautified with Cities, and divided into Farms



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as at this present day, was to be reputed but as One Great Common, out of which many private Persons were permitted to buy; or of the Royal Bounty and Grant, to appropriate some Parts or Parcels of it, under the Obligation of certain Duties or Acts of Homage, all which Priviledges being confirmed by after Acts of Parliament, do invest the Commoners with such a Right or Title as nothing but a Parliamentary Power can reverse.

The next Quære then is this, *Whether it would be more for the Interest of a Nation that there should be many wide Heaths and Commons as now there are; Or that all should be inclos'd and improv'd to the utmost Value?* Here I must confess a Field lies open for a large Discourse; all that I shall adventure in it, shall be to propose such Reasons as may occur on one hand, and on the other, leaving the Decision of the Controversie to the Reader's Judgment.

First then, it may be urg'd in favour of Enclosures; That by this means many Families would live creditably and in good Fashion from the Profits to be made hereby; and that such Profits would be a very great Encouragement and Spur to Industry, as the Fruits and Productions reapt from such Enclosures would be of great Advantage to the Publick, by furnishing the Markets with more plentiful Provisions, whether of Corn or Cattle; which New-Enclosed Farms likewise being improv'd, upon a Survey and Estimate made of them

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would be a great Ease to the Nation in time of War, by being made to partake and share of the Common Burthen in the Supplies usually required on such Occasions; whereas in the State and Condition wherein Commons lie at present, the Publick is damnified, such Places being generally Seminaries of a lazy, Thieving sort of People: For what Invitation can there be for Industry and Labour, when those who take no Pains shall share in the Profit? such People likewise being remote from Neighbours of Reputation and Fortune, may be accounted for Heathens and Savages, living in a manner without all Knowledge of God; there being little Encouragement for able Ministers from a lean and hungry Soil, so that living remote from Churches, and no Officers or Magistrates being near them, they seem to be a Brood of *Terræ-Filii*, or lawless Rogues; engendring upon one another as from the beginning, so on to the end of the World, and preserving themselves frequently from starving, by stealing of Wood, Sheep, and Cattle, and by breaking of Houses, to the great Annoyance of all honest Husbandmen who have the misfortune to live near them.

And as the Men, so are the Cattle, which are bred upon such Commons, being a starv'd, scabby and rascally Race. Their Sheep are poor, tatter'd and poyson'd with the Rot. Their Cattle and Colts dwarf'd and ragged: or little, beggarly Stone-Colts, running prodigiously amongst the Herd, beget a miserable,

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ble, shotten and Bastardly Breed; and generally 'tis that Horses nabb upon such wild and desert Places, half famished; by which means the Race of our Horses becomes tainted and base; whereas the *English* Horse when he comes of a good Kind, and being carefully lookt to when a Colt, may be esteem'd the best, perhaps, in the World; I mean, for all the uses of a Horse, whether for drudging and fatigue, or for the Pad: Our better sort of Horses being generally swift and easie Goers, and fit for the Chace, and for Running, as well as for the Road. Foreign Countries indeed, yield better Horses for some particular uses, as the *Low Countries* or *Flanders*, for the Draught and Coach; *Naples* for the Great Saddle; *Barbary* and *Arabia* for Shape and Fleetness: But the true *English* Horse is serviceable in more respects than one, where the Breed, I say, is not poyson'd by Commons. Upon which account it is that our Hackneys are so much esteemed Beyond-Sea. Nor are Commons only injurious to the Race of Horses, but also of Cattle, The increase of such Places being nothing but a sort of starv'd, Tod-bellied Runts, neither fit for the Dairy nor the Yoke; so that a Common, upon the matter, is nothing but a Naked Theater of Poverty, both as to Men and Beasts, where all things appear horrid and uncultivated, and may be term'd, not improperly, the very abstract of Degenerated Nature.



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But notwithstanding all this, much may be said on the behalf of Commons; as first, that they are more productive of People: For a Common, or Waste of six hundred Acres will maintain thirty Cottages of Four to a Family, which if inclos'd would not amount to above Eight Farms, each Farm containing about seven Persons one with another. Now, 'tis for the Interest of a Nation, that it should abound rather with Men than Cattle; and that such Men are poor, matters not, so they be not indigent, or such as stand in need of Relief from the Parish. For were it not for these poor Labourers, the Rich themselves would soon become poor; for either they must labour and Till the Ground themselves, or suffer it to ly waste, and in the end Common. Now such poor Cottages being inur'd to all manner of Hardships, prove excellent good Labourers, where they are kept in order; and as they are exceeding serviceable for the Country Affairs in Times of Peace, so are they most useful in Time of War, for the same reason of being bred hardy, and when reform'd by Discipline will make good rough, cross-grain'd Soldiers enough, fit to kill or be kill'd. This we see exemplified in *Switzerland*, *Sweden* and *Scotland*, which as they are the poorest Countries, so do they yield the bravest Soldiers in the World. Whereas the Commonwealths which are rich and Traffick are no way considerable upon this score, their Men generally being foggy and resty. *Spain*, 'tis true, is in the

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main a poor Country, and yet in no such Reputation for Martial Men, as heretofore, their Great Ones, which should make Officers, being men too much abandon'd to Pleasures, and if the meaner sort of them make not their Fortunes this way, 'tis to be imputed to the Genius of the People, who being naturally proud and haughty, will rather starve like Dons, than take pains like Men.

But this Consideration possibly, might be of greater Moment under a Government which thirsts after the Enlargement of Empire, than in a Monarchy, such as the *British* is, whose Empire being Insular, it can never be its Interest, unless by way of Diversion, to make a War upon the Continent, where sudden Invasions cannot be made, in which principally consists the Success of such Wars; and for Invasions or Transportations of Armies, they are things of vast Expence, Embarrass and Noise, and subject to many fatal Disasters from the Winds and Weather, or the Resistance which may be made by the Enemy, and other Difficulties in Landing. But let us suppose the Aggressors be so fortunate as to set footing upon the Continent, they could not expect long to keep Possession, unless they were certain to have their Allies, the Seas, the Winds, and a vast Treasure always at Command, and to be able to send Recruits as quick as we can Letters by the next Return of the Pacquet-Boat. Nevertheless, in a Defensive or Civil War, such hardy Rogues as are bred

usually upon Commons, may prove excellent good Food for Powder.

It must be confess'd, 'tis true that such Commoners or Cottagers are generally Savage and Paganish: If honest Ministers were appointed to over-see these Goats, some small good possibly might be done; but much more might be expected from a vigilant and severe Justice of the Peace, taking in to his Assistance some Constables of the like Mettle: For we are not now to expect Miracles in the Conversion of such Heathens by Preaching; a good strong pair of Stocks, and a Whipping-post, will work a greater Reformation than Forty Doctrines and Uses. Nor truly will the Pastor themselves much care to be troubled with such an unregenerate and barren Flock, which will yield neither Milk nor Cloathing. However the Matter stands, the Fault is not so much in the Men, but something also in the Government, and more in the Circumstances of these uncultivated Places, which naturally incline Men to Barbarity and Ignorance.

As for the Sterility of Commons, something might be said against it, were we sure to have a good Utterance for the Fruits of such new Improvements: But, as the Case now stands we want rather Men to be fed, than Meat to feed them; and where there is Plenty of Provisions, if there be not Wealth proportionable, 'twill quickly cloy, or turn to Surfeit. For Men may be poor, that is, without a Penny in their Purses, in the midst of full Crops



and Herds of Cattle; since we are not in the Primitive Golden Age of the World, when that Metal was least in Request, and when all things were procur'd by Barter or Trucking; but rather in the Silver one, where whatsoever we stand in need of can no otherways be obtain'd but by the Divinity of Money.

The Horses which are bred upon such Commons must be confess'd likewise to be shriveling and grubbish, but withal, being hardy, they are fit for all sorts of meaner Drudgery, to which better Flesh might not willingly be expos'd: So that if two of these little Garrans go to the making up of one tolerable Horse, there is no greater Loss than for a Man to have two Six Pences instead of one Shilling, which, as they are of equal Value, so are the lesser Pieces more useful for Change and Barter: And he who gains his Livelihood by the Labour of such cheap Carriages, if one of them come to a Mischance, the Loss is not great; whereas the Death of one good Horse would be the utter Ruine perhaps of a poor Man's Family.

And although our Cottagers are found generally to be too lazy, and void of Morality, yet we may observe, that there is rarely any one of these Huts or Cabins, but has its little Inclosures lying round about it: As for Example, a pretty Plot of Ground like a Meadow, from whence he mows a Modicum of Hay, to keep his Cow, or a few Sheep, against the Injuries of the Winter; as likewise

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a little Rib of Tillage for Bread-Corn, or perhaps a slender Orchard, or some other Plantation of Trees, to shelter him from the Extremities of the Weather; so that every such Cottage seems to be an Epitome of a more Voluminous Farm, which is so much the more pleasant to the Eye, not of the Owner, I mean, but of the Spectators, by how much the Variety of the Landskip is contracted into a lesser compass. And I have oftentimes stood and paus'd a while in viewing these Rural Mansions, considering with my self, within how small a Circle the familiar Enjoyments and the most innocent Delights of the Earth may be confin'd, and how little may suffice to relieve the Necessities of Nature.

As for the Suppressing of Cottages, as it would be unpolitick, so would it be most unjust, without a due Regard first had for the Maintenance of the Inhabitants, (which would be no Injury, but a Benefit to such People,) who having liv'd Time immemorial in such Places, they have as good a Title to their Habitations, as if they had continu'd there from the Beginning of the World. I know, in Cases of a General Necessity, the Rights of Particular Persons may be impeach'd, for the Preventing of a greater Evil, as it is lawful to blow up a House (without the Owners Leave) to prevent a Conflagration; or in case a Ship be ready to sink, 'tis lawful likewise to cast a Private Person's Goods into the Sea, to lighten the Burthen: But this only holds good

then

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When when a particular Man's Concerns is so  
twisted with that of others, that all must ei-  
ther sink or swim together. But to invade  
any Man's Private Interest without his Leave,  
or due Compensation had for his Loss, and  
for the Benefit purely of others, wherein the  
Loser himself is not concern'd, this is against  
Reason; so that we are carefully to distin-  
guish between a Necessity and a Convenience.  
In Cases, I say, of Common Necessity, 'tis  
better a Part than a Whole should suffer; but  
in Cases of Convenience 'tis not so: For no  
Man ought to suffer for the Advantage of O-  
thers, when the Person suffering partakes not  
of that Advantage.

Where, by the way, we may take leave to  
glance a little at the Behaviour of some Lords  
of Mannors, whose Bailiffs many times whee-  
le in the Cottages, (as depending perhaps  
upon his Lordship for their Employments,)   
allowing them Liberty to build upon the  
Wast, and to inclose Ground, perhaps; gi-  
ving them a Tree or two to carry on the De-  
sign, upon Condition they will take a Lease of  
such Cottages for Three Lives, paying only  
some Six Penny chief Rent: Upon the Ex-  
piration of which Term, his hungry Lord-  
ship swallows the poor Cottage, with all its  
Members and Dependencies, at a bit, which  
by the Sweat and Labour of the poor Defunct  
and his Predecessors, was improv'd to a kind  
of Competency out of Nothing, whilst the  
Remains of the poor Family are expos'd to  
the



106. *Of Commonage and Inclosures.*

the naked World, or else forc'd to pay a good round Fine for the Renewal of that which was so dearly purchas'd by their own Pains and Industry. By which sly Methods the Commonage will be engross'd in Time, and many whole Families be devour'd, to serve the Appetite of an unsatiable Patron: A Thing to which the Parliament of this Nation ought to have a special Regard, the Members whereof, many of them, tho' Lords of Mannors, yet is it to be hop'd that they will act like Men of Trust and Honour, and not suffer Frauds, attended with so much Inhumanity, how conducive soever they may seem to their private Interests, to go without Correction. Concerning which, as also many other Points touch'd upon in this Discourse, tho' the Definitive Judgment belong to them, yet every Man endu'd with Understanding has a Judgment of Discretion to know what is agreeable to Reason; which Reason will still carry a Sway over the Minds of Men by a kind of Influence not inferiour to that of Authority.

C H A P.

## C H A P. VII.

*Of Coppice-Wood.*

**T**H E Third General Thing about which the good Husbandman must be conversant, is *Planting* : To which I shall speak under these Particulars. First, of *Woods* or *Coppices* ; next, of *Trees useful for Husbandry* ; and lastly, of *Fruit-Trees*.

In planting of a Coppice great Care ought to be had to the Situation of the Ground : The Ground then ought to be a little rising to the *East*, for that is held the best for Timber ; and all Under-wood likewise thrives best the more 'tis expos'd to the Rising-Sun. It is no way profitable to suffer Timber-Trees to grow in Coppice-Woods, unless on the skirts or out-sides, where they may spread their Branches without Injury to the Coppice, and receive the Benefit of the Sun ; but where they grow amidst the Coppice they hurt one another : For if Timber-Trees be lopp'd, they grow knotty and bare ; and if unlopp'd, the Drop-pings of the Boughs will spoil the Growth of the Coppice after a Fellet, and the Under-wood likewise will rob the Timber-Trees of its Nourishment, and by this means they will extreemly injure one another.

In

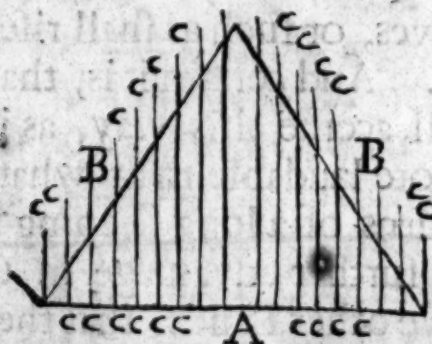
In cutting of a Coppice, if the Shoots be old, 'tis best to pare 'em close to the Ground, for the young Shoots will come up more thick and strong. The Poles, after they be stript, if they be left standing a Year, will grow tough and hard at the Heart, and be never subject to the Worm. The same Benefit may be procur'd by cutting them down as soon as they be stript, and casting them into the Water, where they may ly for some time, and then taken out for use, as occasion shall require. It is very ill Husbandry to suffer Cattle to go into Coppice-Woods: Nevertheless, after they be of Seven or Eight Years growth, Colts may feed upon the Lawnes or Walks of such Woods, without any great Dammage.

I hold Ash to be very profitable in Coppices; for they will shoot up in heighth, and grow very streight, and make excellent Hoops, besides, it is a quick Grower. I hold it very profitable likewise, where a Coppice is to be raised by setting of Acorns, to sow Crab-Kernels amongst them; for they will be rais'd much safer this way than in a Nursery, and may be remov'd without any injury to the Coppice, as occasion shall require: What is pretended, that such Stocks when they are removed or re-planted in an open place will not thrive, as being remov'd out of a warm Bed into the open Air, is a meer Fancy: For I have known such Stocks as forward as any, and altho the *Coppice-wood* might shelter them from the cold Winds, yet 'tis certain, that they suffer



fer much more in the Root, which is not capable to spread it self far, being choakt up by the crowd of other Roots about them, which also rob them of their due Nourishment, so that when they are translated from their hungry Soil, and their devouring Neighbours and Thickets, they will quickly flourish, and be more hardy than those which are raised in the Nursery.

Discourfing once with a Gentleman, (Mr. Seale of Cotton Underidge in the County of Gloster) who was very Curious and Intelligent in these Matters, and of whatsoever related to Husbandry, he made it out, That an Acre of Coppice-Wood on a Plain, might contain as much Wood as two Acres on the fide of a Hill, tho that on the Plain, as likewise the Ground on the fide of the Hill, might seem both alike planted, or equally thick in appearance; which Affertion, tho it looks at first like a Paradox, contains a real Truth, as he made appear from this Pyramidal or Triangular Figure.



A the Basis, represents the Plain. B B the two fides of the Triangular, represent the fides of

of the Hill or Mountain. C C C C Shew the Trees shooting from the Plain, and from the sides: For if we consider the matter a little, and the Order wherein Trees grow upon a Plain, and upon a hanging Surface, we shall find them perfectly stretching themselves in such Order as the Figure represents: So that if the Hill or Mountain be very high and steep, one Acre at the bottom may contain four times the quantity of Wood, as an Acre on the side of a Hill, a thing which all who deal in Woods, ought to have regard to.

○ A Plantation of *Coppice-wood* is a thing of great Profit; for by this means, Ground which is not worth five Shillings an Acre, will be worth Twenty, and better. 'Tis true, it will be 18 or 20 Years before we come to reap the fruit of our labour, which may discourage those perhaps, who are advanc'd in Years, from entering upon a Project, of which peradventure, they may never see the effect. But Men are not born only for themselves, but must be mindful also of Posterity whether descending from themselves, or such as shall rise up in succeeding Ages. And certain it is, that the Profit which shall accrue this way, as it is greater, so it is more laudable than what may arise from the Returns of a long sleeping Mortgage. And there is further advantage in *Coppices* or Woods, above other Lands, that they are not subject to sink in their Value or encumber us, as Tillage and Pasture, which sometimes for want of Tenants, sometimes by the Fall of

Cattle,

## Of Coppice Wood.

III

Cattle, or Corn, or some Accident or other, become very hazardous and troublesome, and require continual Expence to maintain them: Whereas *Coppice-Woods* being a little lookt to, and preserv'd from Cattle for some time after they be cut, there is no more trouble with them; and we reap the Profit of them in a good round Sum, or in Gros; whereas other Lands make their Returns by little and little, and as it were by Retail, so that Money melts away insensibly, or in trifling services, perhaps.

Further yet, A Plantation of *Coppice-Wood*, is it is most profitable to a private Undertaker, so is it most pleasant and ornamental, if near a Gentleman's House. If it be seated therefore on the side of a Hill, I hold it very beautiful and graceful to Plant a *Coppice* on the declining Ground leading to it, and so to cut Glades or Avenues which may give a View and Prospect of the Seat; which Roads or Walks, if well kept, and regularly cut, are far more graceful than Rows of Trees, where the falling of some here and there, make a great Gap in the Walk, of which there is no danger in thick Tufts of Wood; and besides the Pleasure of the Shades, such places are more delightful from the Birds and Game with which they may be stor'd. Such Gentlemen therefore who build for Pleasure, ought to have regard to this particular; as also, to have Springs or little Currents lying about their Houses, which may serve for Use and Ornament: Of which more hereafter.

Hi-



Hitherto I have spoken a little of planting Wood, with regard only to the private Interests and the Profit of the Planter; but in respect of the *Publick*, the Advantage certainly is much more considerable which hence arises: For it is by such Plantations that our *Arsenals* are, from Age to Age, stor'd with Ship-Timber, and consequently the best Safety and Defence of the Nation depends upon them: So that the Decay of Timber in an Age where there is twice the Occasion for it as formerly, cannot but portend unavoidable Danger for the future, if due regard be not had hereunto. And truly, upon the Dreadful Fire of *London*, had not *Norway*, *Denmark* and *Sweden* furnish'd us with plenty of Materials for its Repair, there would hardly have been any good Timber-Building left in the Kingdom.

Another thing which seems very much to render good Timber scarce, especially Oak was the severe Frost in 83, which made Gaps in infinite Numbers of them, by which they are become feedy or shatter'd, and unfit for Plank, and all better Uses; whilst others receive'd such a cheque or stop as they will not recover for some Years; nor indeed, be ever so thrifty as before; so that from that time to this, we find all sorts of Timber growing scarcer and dearer, and so 'tis likely still to continue. 'Tis well we are in good Terms with the *Northern* Crowns; but should we once have a Difference with them, we might

soon expect to be brought to the utmost Extremity; especially when the Iron-works (those great Devourers of Fewel) should multiply upon us, to furnish the Kingdom with such Iron-Provisions and Stores as are now brought from thence, and all but little enough to serve our Occasions: So that upon such a general Slaughter, or rather Massacre of Wood, as would be made in such a Conjunction, we could not but become an easie Prey to a Foreign Invasion. It behoves therefore our Parliaments, more than ever, to put a stop to such Practices as shall unduly diminish the Growth of such a necessary Commodity, as also to encourage the planting of it by some Priviledges and Exemptions; and particularly, to encourage the planting of Wood in such Heaths and barren Grounds as lie commodious to any Navigable River, or near such Ports and Harbours to which our Shipping does most resort.

But of things relating to this Subject, more at large, when I shall hereafter discourse of the Fuel of *London*:

## C H A P. VIII.

*Of Trees as they are Useful in Husbandry.*

**E**VERY Husbandman or Farmer, tho he be not Master of a Park, or of Fair Woods, ought to have his Ground well stord with such Trees as may promote his Husbandry, such as Elms, Oak and Ash ; as likewise, to be commodiously furnish'd with Aqualicks, or such as grow near the Brooks and Waters, as Sally, Withy and Orles: For these Trees, tho of less bulk, are very serviceable. And,

First, I begin with Elms: Elms then, as also Poplar, being cut at the Butt, do Coppice or cast forth New Shoots in great abundance ; so that so far as their Roots spread under Ground, they will sprout out of the Earth like a little Forrest ; For there being no Branches to draw the Sap, the Roots cast forth (or discharge themselves of ) what may be spared from the main Tree towards the raising a new Offspring: These young Plants, if preserv'd from the injury of Cattle, will grow considerably, but not to substance, by reason of their great Multitude: The more therefore of these young Sprouts are wed  
away,



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away, the fairer will be the remainder : They are better therefore propagated this way than by Transplantation ; tho if transplanted, the best way is to mow Grass or Weeds, and lay them about the Roots, which will keep the Ground moist, sweating, and defend the Roots from the Extremities of Heat and Cold ; if some Stones be mixt with the Grass it is not amiss ; for they will keep the Grass hollow, and preserve it from withering and baking together. The like helps may be us'd to preserve Fruit-Trees, or any other Trees whatsoever.

Elms in Husbandry are useful for Stocks and Valleys for Wheels ; For Ox-Bows, as also for Harrows : This Wood likewise is good in Railes and Gates, if sawn thin, not being apt to rove like Oak, and being light, will shut and open with more ease. Boards of Elm are good likewise for Floors and Doors of Rooms, but not so good as Oak, because subject to swell and shrink upon alteration of Weather. The Season of cutting them, is from *Allhallon-tide* to *Candlemas* ; but if cut in the Summer, let them be cast into the Water for a quarter of a Year, and that will fetch out the Sap, and preserve them from the Worms.

An old Barr-Oak being cut at the Butt will never Coppice more ; but Saplings or young Timber will shoot from the Butt, but not sprout forth of the Ground, round about, like Elm and Poplar. Oaks therefore, are best

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rais'd of Acorns, especially in large Fields: For if Acorns be set in a small quantity, they will be in danger of being destroy'd by Moles, or Field-Mice, who are of a strange quick Scent, and will get them out of the Ground, tho never so well cover'd, and carry them to their little Holds or Store-Houses.

Oaks, tho they be accounted the longest Livers amongst the Trees of this Island, perish soonest by Cold and Drought of any, excepting Poplar and Asp, as was observable in 1684, being the Year following that severe Frost. A vast number of Oaks, especially the old ones wither'd away the following Summer, which prov'd exceeding dry. And of sound Timber-Trees many were split and cleft to the very heart, so that a Man might put his Finger in the Cleft or Rent, which clos'd up again when the Frost was over; and altho they seem'd to the Eye to have receiv'd no Damage, yet 'tis certain that they were seely or weeping or shatter'd, and in a manner unserviceable being sawn. For tho the Gaps and Clefts which were made by the Frost heal'd up again, leaving sometimes no Seam nor Scar in outward appearance; nevertheless, when such Trees are cut, the Wounds will soon appear; so that the Damage done that Winter, as I have said before, will not be repaired in many Ages; and I look upon good Timber to be a Commodity which will every day grow more scarce than other. And such truly was the violence of that Frost, that as

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I very well remember, it rent a Stone-Wall from the top to the bottom so wide, that I could lay my Finger in the Cleft, the Crack running and turning with the joints of the Stones, which Breach at Spring clos'd up again, leaving no mark of Rupture behind. The Wall was built upon a Rocky Foundation in the Water. Of all Trees Elms resist Cold the best, for I observ'd not one to perish by that rigid Season.

Oak serves for several Uses in Husbandry, as for Planks and Beds for Waines, for Spokes in Wheels, for Vessel-Staves, and for all the Occasions of Building; 'tis the Wood which is most durable and beautiful. If you cast Beeches or Quarter-Wood into the Water, being sawn Green, and letting them lie therein a quarter of a Year, and better, 'twill fetch out the Sap, and make them fit for Use quickly. Likewise Saplings being cast green into the Water, after they have lain there for some time, become tough and hard, and will not be subject to Worms, as appears by Axle-Trees; so that a Gate or Rails made of young Poles thus season'd, shall last many Years, and never be subject to the Worm, nor to rove or warp by the Sun. In a word, I hold it best to cast all sorts of sawn or cleft Oak, as Boards, Window-stuff, Spokes, Pipe-wood, or Stairs, Pin-wood, Waine-Beds, &c. into the Water, there to season; for being dried in the Sun, they will be apt to warp or cast.



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Oaks, Elms, and generally all Trees whatsoever, being cropp'd, or having the Heads cut off, so that they cannot stretch themselves higher, grow more bulky and burry; so that 'tis usual for an Oak, thus dwarf'd, to contain six Yards in compass: For such Trees rotting and perishing at the Heart, by reason of the Wet which soaks in perpetually at the Head. Nature enlarges them, and endeavours to measure out their just Period of Duration by widening their sides; so that what would have been spent otherwise in the Nourishment of great Limbs and Branches, is expended wholly upon the Trunk: And so desirous are Trees of living, (I mean in respect of their Natural Inclinations,) that they will still preserve themselves in their vegetative Station, till at the Heart and Timber within be rotted, there remaining perhaps nothing of them almost but the very Shell or outward Bark.

Although Oaks be esteem'd with us as Trees of great bulk, yet are they far short of the Cedar, or of the Firr, of which I remember to have seen on the Wharf, where the *Rhofne* and the *Soan* meet; at *Lyons*, Firr-Trees square full thirty Yards or Paces in length, being at the Butt near upon three Foot square, and at the Foot and a half near the small End. Nevertheless, Oaks has the Preheminence of them and all other Trees whatsoever, as being more durable after cutting, and more serviceable in all Respects; and even for Shipping, Masts only excepted, they are known by daily Experience.

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rience to withstand the Batteries of Great Guns much better than any other Wood whatsoever, being not subject to splintering, like Firr; tho' perhaps the Firr, as being a lighter Wood, may be better for sailing; but this must be understood then of Ketches, or lesser Frigates, such as *Corfairs* use, and not of great Ships fit for fighting and more eminent Service.

*Ashes* are best rais'd from Keys sown or planted in a Nursery: They are not liable to the Danger of Field-Mice; and one Ash transplanted from a Nursery, shall grow more in two Years, than another of the same bigness taken from a Hedge or Coppice shall in ten; because those in Nurseries are better rooted. These Keys of Ashes will be in the Ground full two Springs before they will peep forth, and must be wed a little the first Year, and dug a little too, if it may be done without Injury, tho' it be with a How or the point of a Trowel.

Ash in Husbandry serves for Spittle or Spade-Trees, for Docks and Spindles for Plows, for Hoops, for Helves, and Staves, for all Tools of Husbandry, as being tough, smooth, and light. Ash growing in Hedges, ought often to be cropp'd; for it grows to a head sooner than any Tree, and is the sweetest Fir-wood of any, being fit to burn as soon as cleft or cut. Besides, tall Ashes being shaken by the Wind, cast the Rain or Dew which fall upon them, a great way upon the Ground; nor is there any thing so mischievous to

Grafs or Corn as the Dropping of an Ash,

Beech, by reason of the straitness and smoothness of the Wood, is serviceable in many respects, particularly to Wheel-wrights, Turners and Joiners, and is useful enough for building, in several respects; but that which gives it the greater Reputation, is, that it grows in the poorest and most barren Ground, if it be stony and mountainous; so that the Ground, commonly, where they thrive best, is on the side of a stony, rocky Hill, which otherwise would not be worth half a Crown an Acre. Of all Trees almost 'tis held the most beautiful, for the Freshness of its Green, for the Straitness of its Trunk; and where they grow, they kill all tender Shrubs and Brambles, by drawing all the Nourishment of the Earth to themselves, and yield therefore a most delightful Shade, and most fit for Walks. Hence it is that almost all Monasteries and Private Houses in *France* plant little Walks of them in their Gardens.

In lopping of Trees, 'tis very ill Husbandry to do like some lazy Workmen, who, when they are to repair a Hedge, cut one Stake here and another there, from a Tree, as it lies convenient for their Work; for by this means the Shot or Stub is kill'd by the dropping of the over-hanging Boughs, and the Tree decays, and will in a short time die, as we see in Trees which are half lopp'd, which at the best, send forth but poor starv'd Shoots. Let the Tree therefore be cropp'd in the Winter-Season,



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Season, and all together, and it will shoot with a very lusty Head, and in a short time yield a large Crop. The Over-hangings likewise of a Hedge, or of any other Tree, is very fatal to one newly cropp'd, by casting always stained Water upon it, which in a short time will poison the tender Shoots, and kill the Trunk.

Some, in cropping or lopping of Trees, leave the Stub long, to preserve the Timber from Knots; but 'tis observ'd, that such Stubs, after two or three Years, will wither and decay; or, if not, they will hardly grow forth to yield a second Crop: But in this Point let every Man follow his own Observation. Asps ought to be lopp'd with great Care and Discretion; for if the top be cut off, 'twill die infallibly. There must some Branches be left, and that top in a considerable quantity, to preserve the Trunk; but in case it die, we may be sure, I say, of a whole Forrest round about the wither'd Trunk, which in due Season may be transplanted; tho' such young Trees are something hazardous.

Amongst Aqualicks, or Trees which delight to grow near the Water, Sally is as profitable as any can be planted, and it is rais'd of Stakes or Settings. It thrives almost in all Soils, and is a very quick grower, and is most useful to make Buckles for Thatch, as also for Edderings or Lays, to bind the heads of Stakes in Hedges. They may be cropp'd every third Year, and an indifferent Tree every  
Lopping

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Lopping will yield half a Dray full of Wood of Tynnel ; so that once in three Years every such Tree shall yield so much Crop as shall be worth half a Crown in such Places where Wood bears any tolerable Price. We may plant a hundred such Trees upon an Acre, without any great Injury to the Ground ; so that in Places unfurnish'd with Wood, a spot of Ground thus planted will quickly come to Perfection, and serve all the Occasions of a Considerable Farm. Upon which Account, I have always thought a Plantation of Sally to be far more profitable than that of any Fruit-Trees whatsoever; considering the quicker and certain Growth of the one, and the long and hazardous Progress of the other, before it come to Profit.

Withy is much more difficult to raise than Sally, and grows best near the Water, and in a fat Soil, and especially in Meadows, and on the Banks of a Brook. It serves for the same Uses as Sally. The young Twiggs also are very serviceable to Basket-makers, and for binding of Tuggs in Thatch. I have observ'd the Settlings of Withy to thrive for a Year or two, and then commonly they die, that side withering which is towards the South Sun; the Reason whereof I am yet to learn, unless it be from hence, *viz.* That the Hole in which we plant a Setting being made by a sharp, strong Stake, it may so happen that the Setting not reaching the bottom of the Hole, may wither away for want of Earth to give it Root and

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and Nourishment, by reason of that hollow Space which lies betwixt the Butt-end of the Setting and the bottom of the Hole, as the same Hollowness containing Water all the Winter, helps likewise to starve the Root, being void of Earth to cherish it.

Orles are great Growers where they like their Soil, which commonly is a boggy and marshy Ground. They are raised by Seeds they say, by cutting young Poles, and laying or burying them in the Ground at length, and being well cover'd with Earth, they will shoot out in very great Abundance; and if they are stripp'd or bark'd, and let stand a Year after, they will never be subject to the Worm, and are very useful for Rafting of Barns, as being strait and light. They will make likewise very handsome light Ladders, and where the Wood is grown to any Substance, 'tis very useful for Turners, in making all sorts of little Wooden Ware; moreover, being a quick Grower, as all Aqualicks are, they are profitable enough for the Fire; and whosoever will affect the Propagation of these Trees, besides the way before-mentioned, by burying of Poles length-ways, (of which, I must confess, I never made Experience,) may raise whole Forrests of them, by sowing their Keys or Seeds upon any boggy Ground, lightly cover'd over or dress'd with Earth, and kept for a time from the Spoil of Cattle.

C H A P.



## CHAP. IX.

### *Of Fruit-Trees.*

**H**AVING already spoken of *Coppice-Woods*, as also of *Trees*, as they stand useful for Husbandry, we are now to consider Planting, as it extends to *Fruit-Trees*, which is justly esteemed to be one of the most pleasant as likewise the most Profitable Improvements which a Country Gentleman or a good Husbandman can make of his Estate. This I shall discourse of under these Particulars, *viz.* of Seeds, Nurseries, Grafting, Soil, Cultivation, the several Kinds or Species of *Fruit-Trees*, with some Cursory Remarks upon *Cyder*. And,

First, For Seeds, I hold Crab-Kernels to be absolutely the best of any for a Seed-Plot, forasmuch as the Crab-stock seems to have these Advantages above any other; for, first, it is more hardy against the Intemperance of Weather; in the next place, 'tis less capable of Injuries from gaulings, or bruises, and bitings of Cattle, for the Wounds they receive this way will soon heal; likewise 'tis less subject to the Canker, and of longer Continuance than any Kernel-stock or Wilding whatsoever; and altho' the Grass should die, the  
Stock

Stock will weather it out, and after a little time be fit to be re-grafted ; whereas Wildings or Stocks of the Seed of grafted Fruit, will rarely resist and survive such Disasters.

But the way of ordering such Seeds is a Matter of further Care ; for to throw them upon the Ground, after Cyder-making Time, (as commonly Men do,) unless they be in a very great quantity, is very uncertain and hazardous : For besides Poultry, Birds, Pigs, and the like, which at all times will be feeding and mulling on them, there is a far worse Enemy, and that is the Mole or Field-Mouse, a Species of Vermine betwixt a Want and a House-Mouse. These Moles or Field-Mice, I say, will feed upon the Kernels all the Winter-Season ; and I have found by Experience, that of a thousand Kernels Hand-set in my Garden, and well cover'd with Earth, with the greatest Care imaginable, they have been all stolen away by these Vermine in a Month's time, and less, so quick-scented and sagacious are they, digging up the Seeds with as much neatness as if they had been drawn out of the Earth with a Finger. The like Damage I have found in Acorns, Filbirds, Walnuts, and the like, tho cover'd with Lime and Soot ; all which have been dug-up and hoarded by these mischievous Vermine in holes of Walls, and in the bottom of hollow Trees, to serve them all the Winter.

The best way then to destroy these Vermine is by good Cats, or before we sow or set our Kernels,

Kernels, to wet some Kernels and flower them with Arsenick : For this will do their work effectually, as I have found by Experience; but there is a danger herein, lest Dogs, Cats or Swine, or Poultry, should meet either with the Baits or the Vermine. As for those silly Scribblers who write of Husbandry, and talk of placing Butter-Pots, or Traps Under-Ground to catch 'em in, they catch nothing but such Fools as rely upon their Whimsies; for I am confident, they never made any Experiment of this Nature, with Success, seeking only to entertain their Readers with curious Gimcracks. If a Garden therefore, or Seed-Plot be subject to these Vermin (as there are few but are) there is no other way but to throw many Loads of Muck or Must upon the Ground, and so some will be sure to escape and sprout; or else to keep the Must thinly spread in a dry Room till Spring, and then sowing it on the Ground lightly, haw'd up, and powder'd over with fine black Earth through a Sieve, together with some short Straw, or Mullock, thrown over to preserve them from Birds, together with Thorns to defend them from Poultry, they will quickly sprout out in that Season, and prevent the Spoil from Mice, who likewise in warm Weather, and upon the approach of Spring, will not be so solicitous to make their Magazines. I say, then the Mulk, or Must, ought to be laid upon a dry Floor, and thinly spread, and oftentimes turn'd, being finely rubb'd and crumbl'd;



crumbl'd ; for lying in great Clods, much more in great Heaps, 'twill heat and rot the Kernels : Or if the Kernels were hand-pick'd out of the Pulse of the Crabbs after Grinding, and preserv'd in a Box till the beginning of spring, it would be the surest way of succeeding, tho with a little more trouble. And thus having sow'd the Kernels, and prepar'd the Ground, you will see them springing up in a very short time, in a great Plat or Forest, where growing for two or three Years, the next care must be to form a Nursery by removing them out of the Seed-Plot.

There are some sort of Fruit-Trees which send Shoots from the Root, as Pears, Plums and Cherries ; and if an old Tree be cut down at the Butt there will shoot up a great number of young wildings, which may be removed to serve Occasions, or be budded with choicer fruits ; but these Curiosities concern the Garden rather than the Orchard, which is the subject I am now speaking to.

When young Quicks therefore are ready to be remov'd out of the Seed-Plot, our next Consideration is of the Ground design'd for a Nursery, which ought not to be over-rank, for it will be subject to Cowch-Grass, but being well dug and prepar'd, trim your Quicks, and set them in Lines, each Row, as also each Quick, at a Yard distance from each other, casting into the Trench good fine Earth, with some well-rotted Horse-Dung mixt together, and then cover them with the Mould thrown out

out of the next Trench, and so continue setting and trenching till you have finished your Plantation; but be sure above all to tread the Earth well down to the Roots, being first carefully spread abroad by hand upon the prepar'd Mould. I allow a Yard distance betwixt the Stocks or Quicks that they may spread their Roots with more Freedom, and be dug up without danger to their Neighbours; for upon the good Root of a Stock all depends. Some Garden-Stuff likewise ought to be Planted betwixt the Ranks of the Quick to kill the long Couch-Grass; as likewise, because the frequent diggings after they have taken Root, accelerate their Growth by turning in fresh Mould to the Roots, which will preserve them also from Men.

After four or five Years growth in the Nursery, you may think of removing them; but whether you ought to graft the Stocks in the Nursery, or remove them first into the Ground you design for an Orchard, and there Graft them after three or four Years setting, is a Point I must a little enlarge upon; and so much the rather, because my Opinion in this Particular, leads me contrary to the Practice of all the rest of my Countrymen, who for a long time seem to have quitted the Old Way of grafting in Nurseries, upon some appearance of Reason doubtless, which yet I am to learn.

'Tis the general Practice then of our Planters, to remove the Stocks first out of the Nursery

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sety into the Field or Orchard; and there sta-  
king and husting them up with Thorns, after  
three or four Years settlement, to graft upon  
them, upon pretence belike, that a Crab-stock  
will not be so apt to miscarry as a grafted Tree,  
and that grafted Trees, after they are remov'd,  
will stand for some Years in a languishing con-  
dition: But notwithstanding this, the Rea-  
sons for grafting in a Nursery, are much more  
prevailing; for, in a Nursery they are not on-  
ly secur'd from the Injuries of Cattle, as like-  
wise of Weather, being grafted low of near the  
Ground; but they are secur'd also from the  
Perchings of Crows, and such like unlucky  
Birds, which in open Fields or Orchards will  
be ever and anon alighting upon the tender  
Cyons or Branches, and break them off, and  
loosen the Grafts. The pricking in of sharp  
Sticks in the dawbing; as also the hanging of  
Feathers in Strings to move with the Wind,  
may scare them at first; but when the Cyons  
reach higher than the Sticks (as certainly they  
will do upon the first shoot) 'tis on them that  
these mischievous Birds will be sure to Perch,  
to the great dammage of the Tree: To which  
I may add the violence of the Winds and  
Weather, as also the danger of Cattle break-  
ing into a new-planted Field or Orchard; as  
also, the danger from the Plow it self,  
which oftentimes destroys our labour: I say,  
by these and such like Accidents, which are  
almost unavoidable, all our Expectation, af-  
ter Ten Years Care and Attendance, is ver



much blasted, and perhaps ruin'd. None of which Inconveniencies or Dangers can happen in a Nursery where a good Fence may be preserv'd with little labour, and all the other Inconveniencies be avoided.

And as for the thriving state of a Crab-stock above a Grafted one, 'tis a thing of little Moment in the present Case: For our Nursery-Stocks once grafted, and after three or four Years Growth being remov'd, are much more hardy than any Stock newly grafted in the open Field or Orchard, and are less subject to decay from the Wounds they shall receive from Thorns, Plows and Harrows; whereas young grafted Trees once gall'd or bruise'd, if not timely cur'd, will be in danger of the Canker, if not of dying. There is nothing more mischievous to a new-grafted Stock than Thorns, which tho they may serve to keep off Cattle, wound the tender Shoots, those especially of the first Year (which indeed are principally to be taken care of) and by this Means the Branches become canker'd, and perhaps, after some little time, the Tree it self does languish and die.

As touching the Soil of an Orchard, a mixture of Earth, a little inclining to Sand is the best, and Gravelly Ground the worst. For the Gravel lying generally towards the Surface of the Earth, the Roots can draw no Nourishment from it, nor penetrate betwixt such a compacted matter of little Stones: Tho Elms we find thrive best in such a Soil, because they

natur-

naturally spread their Roots wide, and upon the Surface, where they are sure to meet with a fat Earth; the superface of the Ground being ever better then the Earth which lies deeper, whilst the gravelly and impenetrable Ground which lies commonly a Foot or something deeper then the Turf, forces them to spread their Roots in such a way or manner as is most suitable to their Nature. Whereas on the other hand, the tender Fibres or Strings of the Roots of Fruit-Trees, especially of Apples, once touching the cold Gravel, there stop their progress, and for want of suitable Nourishment from below, the Tree ceases to grow, and in a short Time after decays.

Likewise an unequal Surface or Countrey, which consists of little Hills and Valleys, is much more proper for Fruit, then the level and open Campaigne: For in a wide and open Field, there is no shelter to keep off the scorching Blasts, the cold Winds and Storms; whereas an Orchard which lies upon a hanging Ground, and is environ'd with other Ridges and Bottoms lies warm and cover'd from Blasts, and shaded too from the immoderate heats of the Sun, which easily scorch the tender Blossom. Besides; a declining Surface will not be apt to retain the Water too long upon the Ground, which will chill and starve the Root in Winter, but the Water after it has refresh'd the Earth gently soaks away.

I would have a Plantation to Face the Morning Sun, if possible: For 'tis the Early Sun which revives all Vegetables; whereas the Western or Afternoon Sun is commonly hotter, from whence also proceed these gleams or hot Winds which are so fatal to Trees, when they are in the tender Blossom. And from these Blasts it is; that not only the Blossom, but even the Leaves, and sometimes the very Fruit, after it's advanc'd to some Perfection became scorch'd and sing'd, and even the Tree itself many times dies, or at least will not recover it self for Two or Three Years after. When the Blossoms fall off suddenly or disappear, it is a certain sign the Tree is blasted; and the Leaves of the Blossoms which hang on will look Red and Burnt, which being pluckt off we shall find a grub at the Bottom engendered by the Wind, which grub kills the tender Fruit upon the Stalk: Or if the Fruit hang on for a little Time, the next Puff of Wind blows them down under the Tree, and such as seem to escape will never be but little shrivell'd starv'd Apples, such as we call Crickets.

In *Normandy* 'tis true; they plant their Fruit-Trees in Walks, and in the wide and open Fields, so that we may ride every where through plains of Corn a Mile or Two, every way planted in Cross-walks, and in double Ranks bordering upon the Corn on each side with a fine Carpet of Grass like an Alley of Twenty Yards breadth betwixt the Ranks, such walks running many Times in a straight

Line



Line for a Mile or more together ; which is wonderful delightful. The Reason why they are not in such danger of Blasts as we are here in *England*, is from the clearness of the Air, the Country being generally Sandy, and the Winds more cooling as coming from the *Continent*, or the *Britannick* Sea which lies *North* of them ; whereas with us, the Island we live in is more subject to inequality of Weather, and our Western Winds which reign almost half the Year by Intervals, are always hot as coming from the main Ocean, in those Parts of *England* I mean which are in Reputation for Cyder: For the River *Severne* running *South-West*, and widening it self in a very great Measure the nearer it draws to the Sea ; the Winds come up the River as it were convey'd by a Channel, being restrain'd or pent betwixt the *Forrest*, and *Cotswold-Hills*: For which Reason 'tis, that *Gloucester*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford-Shires*, the Three most celebrated Counties of *England* for Fruit, lye in a manner expos'd to the full stroak of these *South-West* Winds ; which indeed are more furious and boisterous than any other Winds with us, as (blowing from the Main Ocean) as it were by a Tunnell without any Eminence or Tract of Land to break its Violence ; which being hotter likewise by reason of the Southern Coast from whence they come, than those of any other Quarter, and at such Time as the Air is thick and foggy (as generally it is in our Northern Islands) the heat meeting with such an

impure Air, begets an Aduſt gloomy kind of Vapour like to Smoak, which the Peaſants call a Red Wind, and this is that which blaſts and deſtroys the tender Fruit and Bloſſoms.

In a Plantation or Orchard likewise, great regard is to be had to the diſtance of the Trees: In a large Plantation for the purpoſe, I would not have them to be ſet nearer than twenty Paces to one another, nor wider than thirty, that ſo there may be ſpace for the Trees to ſpread, and for the Corn to grow. Likewise I would have the Ground laid down plain, and not in Furrows or Ridges, becauſe of ſetting the Ranks ſtreight, and at an equal diſtance, which thoſe who plant upon the Tops of plow'd Lands cannot do, being oblig'd to follow the turnings and windings of the Ridge. And after the Stocks are well rooted (as in Two or Three Years Time they will be) then plowing up the Ground for Tillage is the beſt Method imaginable to bring on an Orchard: For Trees will thrive more in Two Years on plow'd Ground than in five Years on Paſture.

Moreover in planting theſe Rules are to be obſerv'd. 1ſt, To put a good quantity of old black Mould to the Root of the Stock and to work it in well with the hand betwixt the Joints and Strings of the Root, whoſe Branches muſt be cut ſlanting underneath, ſo that the Bark may cover them; otherwiſe they will rot. 2dly, The Earth muſt be trod down very cloſe: For if it lie hollow, the Root in Sum-

mer will be dried up, and in Winter 'twill retain Water, which, when frozen, will kill the Root. 3dly, Let all Stocks be planted leaning towards the South-West, the Winds of which Quarter are longer and more violent than any other Winds whatsoever, and will make a Stock set upright to grow irregular and crooked; whereas by this Method the Force of the Wind will bring what is leaning against it more and more towards an upright, and enable the Tree to stand firm against the Fury of these Western Shocks. 4thly, In staking them great Care must be taken, that the Stakes do not gall or bruise the Trees: As for Briering or Thorning them, it is superfluous, except in such Places where Cattle go; and for such Orchards they will come to little, for do what we can the Cattle will some time or other browse them, and in Ground not plow'd, the Stocks will come on very poorly. They therefore who love good Orchards, must keep their Ground in Tillage always, and by this means turn in fresh Mould to the Roots; so that there is no need of Thorns, where Cattle are not suppos'd to go.

'Tis not good, for the first or second Year, after a Stock is grafted, to prune off the Suckers; for the tender Grafts not being strong enough of themselves to draw up the Sap, the Tree of necessity must wither and die. This I have found by often Experience; so that many times the Grafter is condemn'd, when the Fault lies in the superfluous Curiosity



of the Husbandman: But where the Cyons or Grafts are grown big enough to draw up the Sap in such a Proportion as may keep the Trunk of the Stock green and flourishing, then off with the Suckers. Likewise 'tis a very excellent way to nip the Shoots of the first Year; for besides that, Crows will be apt to perch upon such tender Shoots and break them, 'tis certain that such high weak Shoots are very liable to be shaken by the Wind, and in the Winter-Season to be pinch'd by the Cold and Frost, which will much endanger the Grafts, especially if the Winds in *March* be any thing severe; for such Branches will either wither, or be canker'd, as I have observ'd from the cold Winds and Frosts in *March* 93, 94, and especially 96, which was the most unkind Season for Fruit-Trees which hath happen'd in any Age. The Midsummer-Shoot, for the same Reason, is much to be preferr'd before that of the Spring; for they come forth short and bushy, and by the next Year will be strong enough to resist any ordinary Shocks of Wind and Weather, and are out of all danger from the perching of Crows.

Good daubing likewise is of great Moment to a Tree; for if the Cleft be not well secur'd from wet, the Tree will be in danger, so that as often as the Clay or Mortar is wash'd or worn off, it should be renew'd again, till the Bark covers it. Likewise, if a Tree be grafted with two Cyons, 'tis best to pare off one of them close to the Head of the Stock as soon as

the Grafts come to any bigness ; for they will be apt to grow one within another, and so be canker'd. The Reason therefore of putting two Grafts into the Incision, is for the better Security, in case one should fail, as also to draw up the Sap in greater Plenty ; tho' I hold it absolutely safer to graft in the Nursery with a single Graft upon a young slender Stock, for such rarely miscarry, and the Cleft is soon skinn'd over ; the Sap likewise is more easily drawn up, and the Branches will shoot far enough asunder, without danger of twisting one within another.

The Maladies to which Fruit-Trees are subject, are, first, Moss ; and this proceeds either from Old Age, and then it is incurable, or from the bending of the Bark ; the Remedy whereof is lancing, or else digging about the Roots in Winter : But if Moss proceed from the Wetness of the Soil, I hold it likewise to be incurable. Scraping or burning of the Moss with Straw, may serve for a time, but it will return again as long as the Cause remains. The Canker is another Disease incident to Trees ; if it be in the Branches, I look upon it as incurable ; for the canker'd Branch being cut off, the after-Shoots will likewise be canker'd, till you pare away all the Branches : Esteem therefore such a Tree to be fit for nothing but the Fire. This Disease many times proceeds from the Wounds which the tender Shoots of a new-grafted Tree receive from Thorns growing or stuck near about it ; but

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it is not so always, for some Trees will be canker'd, do we what we can. Many tell us that the Canker proceeds from the Rankness of the Ground, or from the Nature of the Fruit, so that Grafts cut from a canker'd Tree will prove canker'd likewise. This I cannot speak to by Experience; only, that where a Canker is in the Body of a Stock (as it happens frequently) by reason of some bruises or rasure from the Plow, Harrows, Traces, and the like, the best way is with a sharp-pointed Knife to cut round about it to the quick, and it will stop from going farther, and yield a new Rind or tender Bark; otherwise, if the Sap be stirring, the Bark will peel, and loosen much farther than the Bruise, and wither away, to the great Danger of the Stock: Therefore, after the Incision round about the Bruise, let the naked Place be cover'd with Earth and Cow-Dung mix'd and bound about with a twist of Hay daub'd with Cow-dung likewise, and after a Year or two the Breach will be cur'd, and sometimes be intirely skinn'd over with a new Rind. I have observ'd the Canker likewise to proceed from the Extremity of Weather, or bitter Winds, about the latter end of *March*, at such time as the Trees, by the precedent Season, which has been very mild, were in the fairest way to make us hope for a Blessing; so that the Sap being then stirring upwards, and thus arrested by the unusual Severities of the Spring, the Trees themselves have been much mortified, and especially such young



young ones as have not been grafted above three or four Years. All which I have found by woful Experience in the Year 1694, when of above a hundred young Trees grafted in my Nursery and Orchards, I give above one half of them for irrecoverably lost; which Damage of being Canker-eaten they receiv'd the two precedent Springs, which were the most rigorous for cold Winds that ever were known. We may observe in Trees that are canker'd in the Branch, that tho' you cut it off to the quick, there will be a little Eye or Speck in the remaining Branch, like the Speck in the Corn upon the Ear, which runs deeper and deeper, till it comes to the Body, and then hold such a Tree to be good for nothing but the Fire; but in case it has not enter'd too far, possibly the Tree or Stock may be saved, by regrafting it with a Winter Quinnin, a Bodenam-Crab, or the Apple we call a Boon-apple, as likewise the Golden-pippin, for these I observe never to canker: I have thus regrafted divers, but I have not yet had time to see the Effects, having made the Experiment but this Year 97. The Apple we call a Woodcock is no way apt to canker, as I have found by Experience, and for this Reason ought to be highly esteem'd, as well as for its excellent Liquor, being likewise a great and constant Bearer, and not subject to be blasted. These sorts of Fruits are very apt to canker, viz. the Bromstraw-Crab, the White, Red, and Red-sided Mus, the Sweet-Pipin; so that

that where any of these Trees are infected with this Disease, let them be new Grafted, if not too far gone, in which Case let them be dug up.

The Winds in Winter are generally look'd upon to be very helpful to Trees, in order to make them fruitful by loosning the Earth about their Roots.

If Trees be unthrifty, as in Orchards unplow'd it often happens, their Roots must be uncovered about *Christmas*, till the latter end of *February*, or the beginning of *March*, putting in some old rotten Dung well temper'd with the Earth, and close-trod down, or Ashes mixt with Earth, and the like. Ants are very pernicious to Trees, and are destroy'd by digging and putting Soot to the Roots.

Lime is found to be a very great Enemy to Orchards, there not being half the Fruit as formerly, since this way of helping Ground for Corn has been practis'd; so that even the Trees themselves dwindle and decay; nay I may confidently affirm, notwithstanding the Humour of planting in this present Age that there is not half the Cyder made as was about Thirty Years ago; the foresaid liming of Land, and the many severe Springs we have had of late Years, being the True and Natural Causes of such decays.

I would advise all Lovers of Fruit-Trees to have a little Plantation near there House, and this to be close set with Trees not above Ten Yards asunder; so that in an Acre of Ground thus planted, there will grow a hundred Trees:

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The Reason of such a Plantation is this, that when the lower Plantations or Orchards are blasted, this may supply that loss: For Trees growing close together are apt to save one another, and to shelter themselves from the Frost, Cold Winds, and Blasts. Besides, the Neighbourhood of the Dwelling-House, Barns and other Out-houses will afford Security likewise. 'Tis true; such little Orchards cannot be plow'd where the Trees stand so Thick; in this Case therefore the Ground must be dug, which Method though it be more Expensive will turn to the greater Advantage of the Trees, and return a plentiful Crop of Beans, or other Garden-Stuff. And upon this Account it is, that Trees growing in Gardens or near a House in such Order as I have describ'd, prosper very well when others are smitten. 'Tis good likewise to have Trees growing in Hedges for the same Reason: For such Hedges will shelter them from the Blustering Winds and from the nipping Frosts. And although such Hedge-Rows do not yield so large a Crop, and are troublesome to be glean'd, yet 'tis good to have some, tho in a lesser quantity, when the larger Plantations shall miscarry.

I must Confess, that Trees planted in Hedge Rows are not very prosperous, unless on a light Sandy and declining Bank, where the Water may run off quickly out of the Ditches; or rather, where there are no Ditches at all: For where there are Ditches, and on a level, the Water is apt to lye long in the Winter  
Time



Time and stain the Root; For Remedy whereof some cut up their Hedges at the Butt, and plain the Ditches, planting a New Hedge at some distance: By this Method the Trees will recover themselves incredibly; but whether the profit arising thereby be worth the Charge and Trouble of raising a New-Hedge, I leave to the good Husbandmans Consideration, Tho' I think such Hedge Rows where there are Ditches on the other side, which hold Water most the Winter, are little to be regarded.

I like also very well to suffer some Kernel Fruit or Wildings to grow in the Orchard, for such Trees will never Canker, they resist the Violence of nipping Winds, Frosts and Blasts, so that we may be sure of having a fair Account of them, which is a Thing of some Benefit, for though the Fruit be harsh, yet 'twill serve for the Ordinary Occasions of a Family, and 'tis better to have harsh Cyder than none at all.

C H A P.

## C H A P. X.

*Of the several Kinds of Apple-Trees, and of Cyder.*

Come we now to consider the several Species or Kinds of Fruit-Trees, with which a good Orchard ought to be Planted, where I shall first begin with Apples, of which the chiefest sorts are these; the Red-streak, the Sweet Pipin, the Bromstraw-Crab, the Winter-Quinnin, the Pear-Main, the Boddiam Crab, the John-Apple or Oaken-Pin, the Moile, the Wood-Cock, with the White, Red, and Red-sided Mus, the Bon-Apple, the Brassing.

A P. I begin with the Red-Streak, which I place in the Front, or first Rank, not that I do esteem it does deserve that Place, but out of Complaisance with the Humours and Opinions of Men. This kind of Apple thrives nowhere so well as in *Hereford-Shire*, where the Trees grow to a very great bigness; whereas in *Gloucester-Shire* at the distance of some few Miles, though they thrive well at first, yet they never arrive to any bulk, but run out into small slender Branches and dwindle away, the Natural Cause whereof I am to learn, since there is no visible difference in the Soile and manner

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manner of Ordering them; hence it is, that Men are forc'd many Times to behead such Trees, and regraft them with some other Fruit. A knotty Nut-grain Stock is commonly the fittest to be grafted with a Red-Streak.

As for the Liqueur which it yields, it is highly esteem'd for its noble Colour, and Smell; 'tis likewise Fat and Oily in the Taste, but withal very Windy, Luscious and Fulsome, and will sooner Cloy the Stomach than any other Cyder whatsoever, leaving a waterish raw Humour upon it; so that with Meals 'tis no way helpful, and they who drink it, if I may judge of them by my own Palate, will find their Stomachs pall'd sooner by it, than warm'd and enliven'd: Nevertheless the Price it carries makes it worthy to be esteem'd by the Drinker, but more by the Seller; and when it's Vertues are duly examin'd, I doubt not but it will loose Credit with both. There are two sorts of Red-Streak, the large Red Red-Streak(as they call it)and the lesser, which is streak'd with Veins of Green and Red: The former is the fairer to the Eye, the latter is the better for Cyder. The common Price of Red-Streak Cyder is Three Pounds at the Mill, sometimes it has doubled that Price, but of late Years it sinks in its Credit.

The next kind of Apple for Cyder is the Sweet Winter Pippin, which must be well hoarded, as must also the Red-Streak, before we grind it. They will not Sweat in the hoard under a Fortnight, and to grind any  
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Fruit sooner, tho' the Liquor may be more in quantity, 'twill be less in goodness, and in the mellowness of the Taste. This sort of Apple of it self makes no very good Cyder, as being ill-colour'd, pale, and greenish, thick also and sweetish, and with a little Age turning dreggish or ropy. The way then is to grind with them an equal quantity of Bromsbrough Crabs, after they have been well hoarded and sweat, together.

The Bromsbrough-Crab is an Apple peculiar to those Parts of *Gloucester-shire*, which lie betwixt the *Severn* and *Wye*. It is a large greenish Apple, hard, and ill-tasted, and therefore it may be planted in the Fields securely, there being nothing in the Fruit which may invite the Eater. Likewise 'tis a good Bearer, but 'tis a little too apt to drop, and does not ripen all together; as it happens also with many other Fruits, of which I shall speak anon. They must be under-shook therefore, and so be gather'd as they ripen. They are a Winter-Fruit, and of the same Duration with the Sweet-Pippin, and of it self makes a strong, rough, masculine Cyder, of a most noble Amber Colour, a little inclining to Red; it is not very pleasant, but withal very full of Spirit, and warms the Stomach, and in quality much resembles those Wines which the *Italians* call *Asciutto*, being rough and drying, being such as will keep good in the Vessel for two Years, and in Bottles for divers. The true way then of using this excellent Fruit, is to

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let it hoard till about the middle of *Novem-ber*, and then to grind it with the Sweet-Pipin, where the roughness of the one will be allay'd and qualify'd with the sweetness of the other, and these two Fruits in conjunction make absolutely the best and richest Liquor our Country does afford, whether we consider the Colour, which is equal to that of Red-streak, or the Goodness of the Liquor it self; which, tho' not so sweet and luscious as Red-streak, is really of a true Vinous Nature and Flavour, or of an excellent Smell, and heady, and warm upon the Stomach, in which latter Vertue or Property it far surpasses the Red-streak: And when Goodfellows (as we call them) drink for Drinking's sake, or upon a Debauch, it works it self off the best of any Liquor. But whether this be to its Commendation, or no, I know not; yet if Men will be intemperate, the Fault is not in the Liquor but in the Person; the former being no more blameable than a Razor, the goodness of whose Edge may be us'd by some not to shave, but to cut their own Throats. One Fault there is, to which Trees grafted with Bromsbrow are subject, which is the Canker, which if they do escape, (as sometimes they may, from some peculiar Goodness and Quality of the Ground,) I hold my Planter to have made as good a Choice of Fruit as 'tis possible.

The Winter-Quinin, as also a Pearemain, make a rich, pleasant Cyder, very hearty and mellow; and when rack'd off, and Bottled,

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is very delicious and grateful. But these sorts of Trees are no very great Bearers, nor do they grow to any considerable bulk, and therefore may be more serviceable at the Table in Dishes than in Glasses.

The Bodnam-Crab is a little, small Apple, something vein'd and colour'd like a Red-streak, or a Lady-Apple. It is a good Bearer, but very subject to drop or ripen by little and little. You must plant them therefore near the House, in some inclosed Spot of Ground, which is well secur'd from Cattle, Pigs, and Poultry; which last they cannot well be defended from, unless we totally banish them from our Habitation, which I am confident every Gentleman, or Gentlewoman rather, who have any Esteem for their Fruit, and a good Garden, will readily approve of; for I account them the most unprofitable and mischievous Creatures that can vex a House, and fit only for Farmers, and poor People, who make little difference betwixt themselves and their Beasts. But to return to our Bodnams, which being a Fruit which is ever dropping, may lie and mellow on the Ground; or else we may gather them as they fall, and put them in a heap by themselves in the Apple-Loft; or we may under-shake them, as I spake before of Bromsbroughs. They may be ground about the same time with other Winter-Fruit, viz. from the beginning to the middle of November. It is no very juicy Apple, but it makes amends for that in the Redness of it, I



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Holding good Bodnam Cyder among other Liquors of the first Rate. This Apple has its Denomination from an Ancient Family in *Herefordshire*, where I suppose it was first in Reputation. One Prerogative this Fruit has, *viz.* that it is not subject to Canker; so that if there be an Occasion of regrafting a Tree overgrown with this Disease, there cannot be a better Remedy than the Bodnam.

The Woodcock is a fair large Apple, and produces an excellent Cyder, comparable with the best. The Fruit is not unacceptable at the Table, and the Stocks grafted with this Fruit are not liable to so many Diseases and Accidents as other Trees, and it is likewise a good Bearer.

The John-apple, or Oaken-pin, of all Fruits is the worst for Taste, being most harsh and hard: They will hang on the Tree till *Christmas*, and keep till Apples come again, and yet worth little to eat, being dry and mealy; notwithstanding it may serve well enough for the Pastry, in regard they may be had when all other Apples are gone. However, being ground in the Mill, it makes an admirable sort of Cyder: The Time of Grinding it, is after *Christmas*, if the Frosts be not over-violent; for they hang upon the Tree the longest of any Fruit, and I take it for a General Rule, that the Fruit which is longest a ripening makes the best Cyder. 'Tis true, this sort of Apple yields but little Juice, yet withal 'tis a very great Bearer, and constant, and

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fears neither Thief nor Weather : For which Reason it ought to have a Place allow'd it in a Gentleman's Orchard, even amongst his choicest Fruits, how little soever this kind of Apple is valued by the Vulgar.

The Apple call'd a Bon-apple is not commonly known, and yet I esteem it, when I consider all its Properties, to be absolutely the best and most profitable of any that grows : For, first, 'tis a constant and fruitful Bearer, the Apple large and firm, like a Sweet Pipin, but of a longer shape ; secondly, 'tis never subject to the Canker, nor to be blasted, and the Fruit as well tasted and lasting as the Pipin, and fairer to the Eye. In the last place, it affords an excellent Cyder, hearty, mellow, and lasting as any. They seldom or never fail of Bearing, and therefore they ought to be prefer'd before all others, as they will be, doubtless, by all who shall have Experience of them.

The Bradling is another sort of Apple, near of kin to the Bon-apple, for its Hardiness, and its Resistance of the Canker, that Fatal Malady to which almost all other Trees are obnoxious. The Cyder which this Apple yields is likewise good and hearty.

The Moyle is a sort of Summer-Fruit ; they are rais'd of Suckers, or little Setlings, like Codlings ; it makes an incomparable pleasant Liquor, but a little weakish, and fit only to be drunk by Ladies in the Summer, and will not keep so long as the more masculine Cyders,

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ders, to which it bears the same Resemblance as the *Verdea* does to the stronger Wines of *Florence*.

Having spoken of Winter-Cyder-Fruits, we come in the next place to discourse of such as we call Summer-Fruits, amongst which there are several sorts of Mus, which deserve to be taken notice of; as, first, the White Mus or Summer-apple, commonly so call'd, it is pleasant to eat, and has a grateful Tartness with it; it is also a great Bearer, and a quick Grower, and makes an early Cyder pert and sharpish, and fit for the Table. 'Twill hardly keep pleasant a Year about, and is very good for the common Occasions of a Family. The Red Mus is a pleasant, fair Apple to the Eye, and is fit likewise for the Table, and makes a sort of Cyder much the same for Strength and Taste with the White or Summer-apple. The great Objection against this Fruit, is, that it drops very much, and is subject to be very Worm-eaten, which will be apt to make the Cyder bitterish.

The Red-sided Mus is an Apple likewise of the same bigness with the two former, and has a Tincture of Red upon one side. It is longer a ripening than the two former kinds, and will require to be well hoarded, so that this Species of Fruit may be reckon'd for such as is betwixt a Summer and a Winter-Apple. The Cyder it makes is much more masculine than that of the White and Red Mus, and comes nearest to the Bromsbrow for strength. It has al-

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to a deeper Colour than either of the other, and being rack'd off, and bottled, it may serve well at the Treat, and is very good in Winter, and the older 'tis, the better is its Comple-xion, which the fair Sex amongst us would be glad to find in themselves.

There is likewise an Apple call'd the Win-ter-Muss, which hangs as long on the Tree as Pippins, Brombrows, or any other hoarding Fruit. It makes likewise good hearty Cyder, and it is good to have Variety.

As for Hemmings, Tankard-apples, Lady-apples, and the like, they serve also for the same Variety, and tho' their Liquor be not in any great Reputation, yet their Fruitfulness makes amends: For I look upon the Lady-apple, which in Colour most resembles a Red-streak, to be the greatest Bearer that is, tho' indeed it makes the thinnest Cyder: However such Liquors serve very well the Occasions of a Family when the other Fruits are a ripen-ing.

It would be a Curiosity worthy of a Gentleman's Trial, to sow Kernels of all sorts of Fruits whatsoever, whether of Apples or Pears, not promiscuously, but every kind by its self, and observe what sort of Fruit every sort of Kernels would produce: By this means, doubtless, many new and curious sorts might, with great Delight and Profit, be propagated, and the Experiment might be enlarg'd farther by grafting one Wilding upon another, by which Mixture more new Species would still

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appear. The Red-streak, call'd likewise the Scadamore-Crab, the Bromsbrow-Crab, and the Bodnam-Crabs, were all of them, doubtless, at first but Wildings or Kernel-Fruit, improv'd after by grafting; which three sorts of Crabs make really the richest Cyder that can be found amongst us, and of the noblest Tincture.

I would moreover advise every Gentleman who has a Love for Cyder, to store his Plantation with all sorts of Fruits, and planted in all sorts of Grounds, and all sorts of Ways, viz. in Open Fields or Orchards, in Hedge Rows, and near his Houses: Some Fruits likewise blossoming at one time, and some at another, 'tis very likely whilst some Trees miscarry and receive Damage by the Winds and Frosts, others which are not yet in Blossom, or which have blossom'd some time ago, or which are under some sort of Covert or Shelter, may escape from Danger.

I shall not enter into a Discourse upon the Art of making Cyder: 'Tis the duly Practise of every Family. Some Things however there are which ought daily to be look'd to by such who hope to be Masters of good Cyder; of which the first is the hoarding of Apples, and here I hold it much better to lay them in a Chamber on heaps, than to leave them sweating in Gardens or on Grass-plots; for lying on the Ground, and in the open Air, they not only receive and suck in the Rains and Dews which fall upon them, but

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draw a dead Savour from the Earth, whilst the Spirit which works in the Sweating is imbib'd therein ; which cannot but much impoverish and flatten the Liquor : All which Mischiefs are avoided when Apples are hoarded within Doors and on a Chamber-Floor. Besides, Fruit ripens sooner within than without Doors, because in the heating or ferment, the Spirits are neither imbib'd by the Spongy Earth, nor so apt to fly away in the Open Air, which must needs help forward the Digestion by mellowing of the Apples, the Heat being less subject to wast and Dissipation.

Another thing to which we ought to have regard, is the drawing-off or racking of Cyder from the Lees, after it has done working, and is well settled. This way of racking softens the Cyder much, and contributes to its Vegeteness and Conservation ; for by lying long upon the Grounds or Lees, it attracts an Acidity, which in a short time will make it eager and fretting. The true Season of racking Summer-Cyders, that is, such as are made of Apples early ripe, is about *Christmas*, when it has been a little clarified by the Frosts. But for stronger Cyders, which carry a great Body, or Spirit rather, and come from the Mill as thick and sweet as Honey, they are not to be touch'd till the Winter be pass'd, and then, if not pretty clear, they must be rack'd a second or perhaps a third time ; so that I have had Pippin and Bromsbrow Cyder, which has not been fine or fit for botling under a Twelve-month,



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month, the Fruit being extraordinary ripe and well hoarded when 'twas made. But the common Season for botling of Cyder is about two Months after the Racking, which falls out about *May*; for then the Cyder nits or frisks in the Vessel, which is the critical Season of botling, and if it be not taken then, all the botling in the World will not make it brisk and lively: Tho' still I say, that the thicker the Cyder when it comes from the Press, the more Rackings it must undergoe till it becomes fine, sparkling, and without Dreggs.

They who have a Curiosity for Cyder, must have regard likewise to many other Circumstances; as first for the Mill; that of Stone is found by experience, to be much better than the Steel-Engine, so much talkt of alate, which is ever and anon apt to be out of Order, so that many have quitted the use of them, returning to their Stone Mills again. Next, for pressing of Cyder, there are several ways of doing it: The way of pressing by one Screw is better than by two. The Mufs, or broken Pulp, being thrown into Cribbs, Boxes, Knewcloaths, Baskets, or wrapt up in Twists of clean Rye Straw, in which particulars, every man may follow his own Experience and Fancy. I shall not trouble my Reader about Ordering the Vessels, this being part of the Concerns belonging to the good Housewife; and yet if there be any fault in this particular, (as many times there is) the Liquor, and perhaps the Vessel, is irrecoverably lost. The best way  
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then as soon as the Liquor is drawn of, is to stop up the Vessel close, and never to turn out the Lees or Sedement till it comes to be us'd again: For in case any Air or Moisture get into it, 'twill soon poyson and corrupt the Grounds, which will give such a nasty, oily Smell to the Vessel, as can rarely be got out by burning, or any Method whatsoever. Some indeed there are, which after the Cyder is drawn of, wash the Vessel very well with cold Water, and when it is clean from all its Lees, they dry it well in the Sun or Wind, and so let it stand till they have occasion again to use it. This way of washing with cold Water is esteemed much better than with scalding Water, because the hot Water is more apt to penetrate the Wood, by which means the smell of the Cyder is soak'd out of the Pores of the Vessel, which are fill'd with a waterish Vapour, which when cold will be apt to make the Vessel mouldy; whereas cold water washing off only the slimy filth which sticks to the sides, leaves the Wood of the Vessel well seasoned with a strong smell of the good Liquor, which will very much help the Cyder which hereafter shall be put into it. Some regard likewise must be had to the Bottles, that they be very clean wash'd and dry'd, otherwise after some little time, there will be a kind of Cream upon the Neck of the Cyder, which will very much deprave it, and fill it full of Dreggs, and make it distastful. The newer the Cyder is the more space must be left betwixt the Cork and the Liquor in the



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the Bottle: For upon Change of Weather, it will be apt to work, and being windy, if too close fill'd 'twill endanger the breaking of the Bottle. Likewise, such Corks ought to be well ty'd down, for they will rise or draw with the windiness of the Cyder, and sometimes fly out in the Air. Cyder therefore ought to be old, and well digested of its windy Quality, before ever it be bottled, and yet if kept too long, or prick't, 'twill never recover it self, and after some time, it shall gather a flying Lee or Dreg, which is a certain sign 'tis lost. I shall not speak of the artificial Helps of Cyder, esteeming the Liquor which stands in need of them, to be worth very little, and yet so it is, that many of our Cyder-Merchants make their greatest Profit by these Adulterating, and artificial Practices. By these Marks 'tis easie to know adulterated Cyder: It frisks a little at first, but then it flattens presently, and tastes a little deadish and sweet; 'tis likewise thick and muddy, and raw upon the Stomach, and after it has stood a little in the Glass, 'tis utterly insipid: Whereas that which is true and genuine, retaines it's sparkling Quality for a long Time, and through the whole Body of the Liquor; it is as clear as *Amber*, warms the Stomach, and invites the Drinker to a further Tryal; it is clear to the last Drop, and has an excellent Perfume or Smell, and with its Spirits or Vapours it very much refreshes the Brain by Reason of its Native fragancy.

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## CHAP. XI.

### *Of Perry.*

**T**Here is another sort of Liquor made of Pears, called by the *French Poiree*, and by us *Perry*: This sort of Cyder was in greater Reputation in former Ages than Apple-Cyder, and tho for many Years 'past, it gave place to it, being in a manner supplanted by it, yet now again it begins to recover it's Ancient Credit and Esteem; not only because it begins to be scarce and rare, there being no new Plantations of Pears, whilst the old Trees daily fall into decay; but it is in vogue likewise for the Nature of the Liquor, which is found to have a strong Spirit in it, for which Reason it hath been much bought up of late by our Distillers, who extract a sort of Brandy out of this Liquor, as they do likewise from Apple-Cyder.

The Reason why it lost its Credit formerly was; 1st. Because it was not lasting, for in the hot Weather 'twas apt to be ropy and dreggish. 2dly, 'Twas more windy than the Juice of Apples, and thought unfit for Gentlemen to Drink, as being apt to engender the Stone: And Lastly, If drunk new 'tis look'd upon to be very unwholesome, as being

ing very Cold and Laxative. But notwithstanding this, Perry is found to be very profitable to the Husbandman, and to have some Advantages above Apple-Cyder, and that in these Respects; for, 1st, Pears when grafted come on faster, and are not so apt to miscarry as Apple-Trees, the Grafts seldom die, much less the Stock. 2dly, They last much longer than Apple-Trees, and grow to a far greater Bulk of Timber. 3dly, They will grow and thrive best in a cold watry or clay Soil, where Apple-Trees will not live. 4thly, They are not so apt to be blasted as Apples, nor subject to Cankers; and when Old, the Timber of them if cut in season is very useful and beautiful for Drawers, Tables, Cabinets, and such like Curiosities. Pears likewise are constant and great Bearers, and yield a most plentiful Juice, and being mix'd and ground with Crabs, will afford a very wholesome and palatable Liquor and lasting enough; which tho it be rough and harsh agrees well with labouring Men, and gets them a good Stomack and will not wash thorough them so soon as Mault-Drink. Upon which Considerations, I hold Pear-Trees to be the most profitable Fruit for a Farmers Use: For where they grow they rarely be at charge for other Liquors, and where Men live Temperate, by the means of this sort of Drink they are very healthy, and arrive to a great Age, as appears evidently by the Inhabitants of some parts of *Worcester-Shire*, where Perry still continues in great Plenty and Esteem.

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The best sort of Pears for Perry, are the Squash-Pears; they are very fair and large, and yield a most plentiful Juice, very delicious and hearty, and will keep the longest of any Liquor made of Pears: It is a good Bearer. The Horse-Pear likewise is a good Fruit for Liquor, but not so much in Credit as the Squash-Pear. There are two sorts of them, the Red and the White. Perry-Pears have this Advantage, that tho' they drop and lie under the Trees, they are not in danger of being devour'd by Swine, being of a very rough and harsh Taste, much less are they in danger of being stolen by Boys and other pilfering People, whilst they hang upon the Trees. Summer-Pears, such as Gernets, Orange-Pears, Windsor-Pears, and the like, being ground with some old Cyder, and a little Vinegar, and the like, will afford a very pleasant, pert Liquor, to be spent early, as in *August*, before other can be had.

Now, although Fruit-Trees be one of the greatest Blessings we can receive from the Earth, next to Bread, for I esteem a good Plantation to be as profitable as a Vineyard beyond Sea, nay more profitable, as being managed with little or no Labour: Nevertheless, it hath been observ'd, that in such Places as most abound with Fruit, the Owners of such Plantations are not always the most thriving Men; for so it is, that Cyder being sold many times at a low Rate, Men choose rather to turn what is superfluous into their own fleshly



ly Vessels, than play the Merchants with a Drugg of so small Profit. This Custom of Bibbing, or drinking wastfully, (which in the Country is call'd good Neighbourhood, and keeping a Good House,) makes Men of Necessity neglect their Business, both destroying their Health and Understanding, and wasting their Fortunes. But

At present there is, or at least of late there has been, an Excellent Project a-foot, which, doubtless, will much increase the Planting of Fruit, and make very considerably for the Advantage of the Undertakers; I mean the new Invention of drawing-off the Spirits of Cyder by distilling. This kind of Brandy (tho' of a weaker nature) is very useful to the Nation, when we cannot be supplied from Abroad, and is very Profitable to the Husbandman, he being certain to convert what is superfluous, and would otherwise be spent wastfully, into good Money. So that the Project is equally Beneficial to the Nation, (especially in Time of War,) as also to such Persons as have any Cyder to spare; and will prevent likewise that Intemperance, or unnecessary and sottish Drinkings, to which Goodfellows otherwise are too apt to addict themselves, upon Pretence that they may consume the Manufacture. Nor ought we to be mov'd at the Complaints and Murmurings of the Rabble or poorer sort, who by this means are forc'd many times to buy their Drink, which at other times they would have as plenty as Ditch-water, since

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tis found, by certain Experience, that where there is most Plenty there is most Beggery; Men ever refusing to take Pains, or at least they will be most exacting and high in their Wages, where they may have their Provisions for nothing, or at any inconsiderable rate: So that we may easily observe, that in such Parts of this Kingdom as are not so plentiful, and do not so much abound with this Liquor, we shall meet with fewest Beggars and fewest Ale-houses, which, without Offence, we may justly look upon to be Pest-houses of the Nation; not for the Relief they yield to the Diseases'd, but for the Poison and Infection which they diffuse: But more of this presently.

And thus have I made some Cursory Remarks upon this Branch of Husbandry which concerns the Planting of Fruit-Trees, or the Orchard, glancing only upon that part of which concerns Husbandry or the Farm: As for the other Branch of it which concerns the Garden, or rather the Dish, I mean such curious Fruits as serve for the *Desert*, they lie out of my Road. Nor were I ever so much minded to discourse upon this Subject, nor am I capable to say any thing to purpose; all that can be said or wish'd for in this nature, being already copiously, and most ingeniously deliver'd to us by the Excellent Pens of some *English* Gentlemen, such as Mr. *Evelyn*, who *expresso* has written most amply hereupon, and Sir *William Temple*; who by the Taste he has

given us, makes his Reader long for a fuller Entertainment, which we have some Reason likewise to hope for, since he is pleas'd to tell us in the Discourse which he has publish'd of Gardens, "*As the Country Life, and this part of it more particularly, were the Inclinations of my Youth, so they are the Pleasure of my Age.*"

To conclude this Subject: Since the Productions of the Earth, and the Labour of the poor Countryman is the very Basis of the Commonwealth, and that Magazine to which those who are over us have recourse in time of Exigence, as we experiment sufficiently in these our Days of Taxations; there are other things in the next place which ought to be consider'd and discours'd upon, as being such with which the Countryman is most nearly concern'd, and to which if due Regard be not had, all the Affairs of the Country, or of Husbandry, and even of the whole Kingdom, will be found quickly at a Stand, or rather in a declining State, and they are these Four: 1st. Publick Inns and Ale-houses; 2dly, Servants and Labourers; 3dly, The Poor; and lastly, Officers or Country Magistrates.

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## C H A P. XII.

*Of Inns and Ale-houses.*

I Shall begin with Inns and Ale-houses: These, at first, were allow'd for the Relief of Travellers, for the Accommodation of such as resort to Markets, and for the Convenience of Country-People meeting with one another, to discourse of their Private Bargains and Business. But however 'twas in Days of Yore, certain 'tis at present that there are few of these Houses, especially the lesser Tipling-Houses, which answer these Ends; and rarely shall we meet with any which is not prostituted rather to Drunkenness and Debauchery: For to such Places as these it is, that the lewd and improvident Labourer frequently resorts, upon Pretence of comforting his weary Body with a Cup of good Liquor, there spending the Profits of a Week's Labour with a nasty Quean, whilst his Wife and Children are ready to perish with Famine. To prevent which Calamity, they betake themselves to begging and stealing, and at length (especially in their declining Days) they fall an Escheat to the Parish, or perhaps to the Gallows; having spent wastfully in such wicked Places what

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should have maintain'd them in Old Age, and in the Time of Sicknes.

To such Places as these it is to which the sturdy, wandring Vagabonds, and pilfering Merchants, of both Sexes, resort, uttering their stol'n Wares, and discovering the State and Circumstances of Houses they begg'd at, for the farther Instruction of Highwaymen and Brurglayers. In these Places 'tis where the innocent Traveller is betray'd by the wicked Intimations of Hosts and Servants, especially in lone-Inns upon the Road, and by such means falls a Prey to Robbers who have their greatest Shelter and Security in such Country Inns: And therefore it highly concerns the Magistrates or Justices of a County, to have a watchful Eye over all such Places, and rarely to License any Inn or Ale-house, but in or near a Market-Town or Village, where the Frequency of Inhabitants may give Security to Travellers, beyond the Bond and Faith of a perfidious Host, or their mercenary Sureties.

Farther yet: 'Tis in these sweet Places of Refreshment and Good-fellowship, where young Men of Fortune sometimes, and Men of Years likewise, and under a declining State, sweetly solace themselves together till they are profoundly drunk; and whilst the Reckoning multiplies, like the Lights in the Drunkards Eyes, the officious Attendants watch their Minutes for plundering of Pockets: But if the Gentleman hath no ready Cash, but might be drunk upon Tick, he shall not want for burn-  
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ing Account when he comes to even his Scores ; and then there must be a Hair of the Tails, which will at length be strong enough to draw on the Dog, and make him fasten again. And thus it fares with Sots, till by neglecting their Business, and wasting their Estates, they fall under the Snares of a griping Mortgage : And we may observe, in many of these Places, especially in the more celebrated Tipling-Houses, that as there are a sort of sly Knaves ready to make a Prey of Good-natur'd Culleys, so there is likewise some one or more little Engines of the Law, who, as Retainers to the House, are always at hand to hamper any Gentleman in a Statutable Instrument as soon as he shall fall within the Noose of a Drunken Wager or Bargain.

In these Places 'tis where a Congress of Sots, or (in the softer Phrase) of Good-fellows, being drain'd together, that such Persons having little Business of their own to spend their Time on, fall to debating the Concerns of others ; so that many times a heavy Doom is pass'd upon the Lives and Actions of honest Men at the dreadful Bar of an All-definitive Ale-house, whilst mine Host or Hostess holds (if not the Balance, at least the) Measure of Justice, I mean the Glass, which be sure shall never be wanting in its due Place and Order, and in a plenary Distribution : And after they have canvas'd the Matter a little, interluding the Farce with many impertinent and obscene Healths, they very lovingly fall



together by the Ears, tho' more there are who fall together to the Ground by the more forcible Blows of the All-knock-down Ale: Here it is where all Respect and Friendship is reduc'd to the Test of a never-failing Bottle; and as for those who have not the Honour to be remembred in these Offerings, they must for ever lie in Silence, as a Company of morose and irreputable Reprobates.

Farther: In these Places 'tis where the Divans, or (as I may say) the States-Provincial of a County, are held with great Solemnity. In these petty Conventions 'tis where all Matters, relating to their Office, are with great Judgment and Silence agitated and determin'd amidst the smoaking of Pipes, the clattering of Pots, and all the noise and ordure of a narrow Room infested with Drinking and a Throng; and well it is, before the Assembly be broken up, if some one or other of them do not become a Subject of Humane Frailty, even then whilst he is upon his Duty of correcting such Disorders. 'Twould be much more suitable to the Gravity of a Court of Justice, were it kept in some Town-House or Market-House, since few Market-Towns are unprovided with such Publick Rooms. It would add much to the Grace of the Business, if the Magistrate should sit aloft, and conspicuous upon the Bench (as it's becoming in a Place of Judicature,) and not be oblig'd (as may be seen sometimes) to hold a Glass in one hand, whilst he signs a Warrant with the other; tho'

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much more Eminent was he, who to shew the stediness of his Hand, writ and sign'd a Warrant upon the heaving Belly of a boggy Hostess.

In fine; In these Places 'tis where Consultations are held frequently about Matters relating to the Publick, as the Elections of Representatives to sit in Parliament, and the like. Here it is, that Affairs of this Nature are debated and concerted; here the Respective Parties rendezvous and strengthen their Interest by profuse Entertainments, and Extravagance of Drinking; so that 'tis not Merit, but Ale frequently which recommends the Person: That Ale, I say, which at other Times deprives Men of their Speech, here makes Voices, where 'tis not the emptiest but the fullest Vessels which make the greatest sound; and altho' Money be the chiefest Instrument in the Matter, yet are they not always the richest Men who succeed herein; insomuch that it happens sometimes, that a Gentleman, to secure himself from a Process, or in hopes to better his Condition, *per Vias & Modos*, does, in striving to be Burghess of a little Burrough, expend more than all the Elections are worth, and is ruin'd, possibly, by it, seeking afterwards, to be shelter'd from Arrests, under the Shadow of being a Retainer to some Member of Parliament, having fail'd in his Grand Design of being one himself.

Nor are there wanting Examples of such too, who, tho' they do succeed, are so For-

tune-shaken by the vast Expence they were at to procure it, that they might be rather look'd upon as coming into that Place for Sanctuary, than into a Senate-House, there fencing against the Laws and the Proceedings of Justice, for Payment of their Debts, whilst they pretend to be Patrons of the Laws, and to prescribe Justice to others. The many Exorbitances and Scandals then attending some Elections, can proceed from no other Source but the great Liberty of a sort of indigent, ignorant, and mercenary Wretches, to give their Voices; so that let a Man but cram their Mouths with three or four popular Words, as *Liberty, Property, Popery, &c.* and their Bellies with Beef and Ale, these yelping Hell-hounds shall yawn and bawl, from the New to the Full of the Moon, and damn themselves into the Bargain; many times swearing themselves to be Freeholders, when they are mer Cottagers, and receive Alms from the Parish; so that this sort of Men, how light and empty soever they are of themselves, are weighty enough many times to turn the Scale of an Election. No Wonder then if Parliamentary Proceedings have not been attended with such frequent Blessings as might reasonably have been hop'd for, when such unqualified Creatures, animated by such Artifices of Debauchery, have so great a Stroke in designing many times the Persons to sit in such Assemblies.

To remedy which Disorders, there cannot be a better Expedient than for the Parliament

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it self to reform it self, and particularly by depriving such lewd Miscreants of their incroaching Liberty, in giving their Voices; reducing the Forty Shillings *per Annum* to the true Standard and Value it was at when such Qualifications were admitted of, Forty Shillings then being as much as Forty Pounds now adays; it being ever held the best way to interpret a Law, not by the Letter, but by the Reason and Intention of the Legislatour: For it cannot be imagin'd that a poor Fellow, of Forty or Fifty Shillings Income, or thereabouts, who must be suppos'd to make up his Livelihood by Labour and Drudgery, should have any mighty Understanding of the Interest of King and Country, or be above the Snares of Corruption, which seizes easily upon the Ignorant and Indigent.

Were the Rabble then of such beggarly Mercenaries repress'd, the Elected Persons themselves would receive great Benefit in being exempted from such unsupportable Charge as usually accompanies a popular Election; the Country likewise electing, would not be forc'd to neglect their Domestick Business, by a long Attendance: For Mens Qualifications would be better weigh'd and examin'd, and the Elections themselves being without so much Noise and Tumult, without Delay, and without so many daring Perjuries, Debaucheries and Scandals, we might have all the Reason in the World to hope for a Blessing upon such National Assemblies; for from a free and legal  
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Parliament orderly and soberly Elected of such Persons as are in Credit, for Prudence, Temperance, Courage and Justice, and with all Men of Estates, Honour and Integrity, we might expect such mature and steady Deliberation, as would be the greatest Repose and Security of this Kingdom.

And yet so much frequented, or rather celebrated, as are many of the Inferiour Inns and Ale-Houses, there are few who betake themselves, to this scandalous Course of Life, but such as are Bankrupts, or of little Fame and Honesty. The Laws of our Kingdom 'tis true, have made very good Provisions against the Abuses and Disorders of such Places; but when they who are entrusted with the Execution of them shall be remiss and partial, we shall stand in need I fear of a further Execution.

The superfluous number of such petty Inns and Ale-Houses seems to proceed from these two Causes; The first is from the application which is made frequently on the behalf of some broken, half-starv'd Merchant, or idle Fellow, who rather than beg, or steal and be hang'd, or at the best become chargeable to the Parish, hopes to get a Subsistence by the little Cheatings and degenerate Shifts of Ale-selling. The other Course is much of the same Figure, it being commonly no other than the sordid Interest of some mean-spirited Justices, who to maintain a superfluous or indigent member of his Family, or Acquaintance, is tempted easily to licence Alehouses for the sake of Fees,  
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and he himself perhaps, forc'd to patch up his Broken-Fortunes by humbly making of Mault, which will certainly be vended in such little retaling Houses, and at such Rates belike, as his Worship shall be pleased to trust it at ; and then, to give Reputation to the House, as likewise to the Ale, the good Gentleman must wink at Faults, and go himself now and then in Person, and brush it away briskly with half a Dozen good Fellows of the Neighbourhood ; where to countenance this high Calling, they shall talk pleasantly, as, how that the consumption of the Manufacture is for the advantage of His Majesties Revenues ; for the Circulation of Money, and for quickening the Market, and such like merry Non-sense ; at which perhaps, a fly Excise-Man sitting by shall wink a Nod, and by putting in a word or two, help forwards with the Argument : And thus they pass away the time Jollily, licking the Froth of a rank, overgrown, and fulsome Hostess, till his Worship is Magistratically Drunk, which cannot but afford great Joy and Triumph to the valiant Conqueror, as well as matter of Pity and Derision to the sober Spectator.

Upon these Considerations or Inconsiderations rather 'tis, that the number of superfluous Tippling-Houses is conniv'd at. But I would gladly know of such wet Politicians, when the Chimney-Tax was on foot, if any one of them would have suffer'd himself to be gull'd, and have built more Chimneys than would have serv'd his Occasions, for the noble



ble or royal End rather of increasing His Majesties Revenues? Nay rather, Would not every prudent Man have retrench'd his superfluous number of Chimneys, that he might have had something else to have kept him warm, besides his smoaky Tunnels, and much more smoaky Imaginations of fantastick Allegiance? Much greater Madness would it have been then to have built more Ale-houses, only to increase such Duties; and yet such Sots are easily Piped on to destroy their Estates, and the best Houses they have, I mean their Bodies, to advance the Custom of so rich a Manufacture. His Majesty doubtless, must needs have a great Obligation to such Loyal Sots, when to speak seriously, in a Case so empty and ridiculous, the Interest of a King or Kingdom does not consist in a large Exchequer, but in the Good Management of the Publick Money, and in the Wealth, Industry and Affections of his Subjects, such as are able and willing to support the Necessities of a Government, which can never certainly be found in those who are abandon'd to an idle and sottish Life. And as for those who plead the advantages which some men may make by buying the Estates of wastful Spendthrifts, they do but in other Terms tell us, that 'tis expedient for the Commonwealth that some should be train'd up to be Fools, that there may be a way for Knaves to make their Fortunes; and we may as well say; that 'twould be good Policy to Countenance and Encourage Knaves too, that Law-

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Forreigners doubtless, those I mean, of such Countries to which our *English* Youth resort upon the score of Breeding and Improvement, when they see how much these Kinds of Houses are by all sorts of People celebrated and frequented, and how our Gentlemen usually at their familiar Rencounters, entertain one another with an Heroick Narrative of what hapned at such or such a drunken Engagement, as Men would do were they to report the furthest Events of some desperate and bloody Battle, relating with all the Punctualities of Circumstance, how many withdrew; who they were who bravely stood to it, and who fell finally in the fight and Combat; I say, when Gentlemen of other Nations shall hear a distinct Relation of such Generous and Martial Deeds, they cannot but smile, and entertain an odd Opinion and Contempt of our *English* Morals. Cabanels or Taverns being esteem'd in other Countries, as places of Infamy fit only for Porters and such trivial Chapmen, but never as suitable and fit Houses for Civil Gentlemen to Rendezvouz in. And indeed, if there be any Cause assignable, why the Process and Martial Genius of our Nation is so degenerated from what it was in former Ages, it can be no other then that against which I am now declaring. We cannot boast of any great Generals, at least they have not the Honour to be employed as such: And, for our common



mon Soldiers, tho they be naturally strong and furly, yet are they not the best for Service, it being impossible for Men who are in a manner habituated to Intemperance and Disorders of Life, to be ever able to endure hardship, Thirst and Hunger, Heat and Cold, and to be subject to Discipline and Command, and yet in these Two Points, *viz.* Sufferance and Obedience it is, that the Perfection of a good common Soldier does consist. And as for our Courage, so much as we boast our own Valour, and decry our Enemies over a Glas of Wine or a Pot of Ale, 'tis not so when we come to Action: Our Wild-Fire or sputtring Crack being quickly spent with little Execution, and our Men wash away upon the Fatigues and hardships of a Campaigne.

From the same Cause likewise 'tis; that the *Turkish* Valour is so much debas'd from what it was heretofore. Their Prophet or Lawgiver *Mahomet* amongst other Politick Institutions, utterly forbad his Followers the use of Wine; which Command of his they rigorously observ'd for divers Ages, during which Time they were very prosperous and successful to a Prodigy. But falling from their Primitive Discipline, and suffering themselves to be corrupted by the Examples of their Neighbours, as to this Point of Abstinence, they at this Day do like the *Greeks*, that live amongst them, drinking in Private to the height of a Debauch: By which means their Spirits being often troubled and enrag'd, they become un-

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capable of Discipline and Fatigue, and their Strength of Body and Health being likewise waited, they soon abandon the hardships of War; and this I take to be one of the greatest Reasons, why they have been so unsuccessful in this latter Age.

And really, if we look further backward upon former Ages, we shall find that none of the Ancient *Roman* Hero's or Generals, except *M. Antonius*, were stigmatiz'd with Intemperance in Drinking, and with Debauchery: And amongst our later Worthies or Generals, I cannot readily call to mind any one of these Sons of *Bacchus*, who were any way eminent for Conduct; but that the bravest Generals, such as the Duke of *Alva*, *Alexander*, *Farness*, Count *Tilly*, with others were very remarkable for Abstinence and Severity of Discipline. The Office indeed of a great Soldier is a Thing of Vigilance; like a Lyon he must be most watchful when he seems to devour; he must wait upon every Critical Minute, and be perpetually upon his Guard. The seasons of Rest to others, and the silence of the Night are fittest for Deliberation, and for Execution many Times: He must conceal his Thoughts by a studied reservedness, or by Suffering his Tongue to run Counter to his Intentions, and by a thousand feign'd stratagems amuse his Enemy, and delude the Vigilance of Spies, till a favourable overture shall occur, which possibly may not be above once or twice in a Campaign, and such too as may not be  
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but of a Momentary Duration. He must Support the Courage of his Soldiers, and teach them to endure Watchfulness, Hunger, and all manner of hardships by his own Example, with infinite other Acts and Habits of Sincerity, Temperance and Prudence: None of which can ever consist with one who Frolicks in a Debauch, and has his Brains intoxicated with Drink, which renders him Talkative, Huffy, and incapable of Considering, and his Body also incapable of Action and Hardships; and where such Intemperance becomes habitual, it renders the Person subject to it Crazy, and fitter for an Hospital than a Camp.

Ale-Houses and Taverns are not the only Places, in which Men practise this Exercise of Debauchery. In an Ale-House 'tis true; they Act as in a Theatre open to the Eyes of all; and the Circumstances of such Places being generally stinking and nasty, are alone sufficient to render the frequenting of them most abominable and infamous: Whereas they who fuddle in their own Private Houses, seeming to Act behind the Curtain, are altogether as unexcusable as the former; the very Quintessence or Poyson rather of the Sin consisting in the abuse or superfluous waste of those Blessings, which might serve for the Relief of such as are ready to perish with Cold and Hunger. As for Drunkenness, or that Giddiness of Brain which attends Excess with all the Concomitant Ordures, they are indeed but some part of the Punishment

Punishment due thereunto, it seeming good to the All-wise God to annex Pain to Intemperance in all Cases almost whatsoever. When I have seen a Man of Fortune, as they call him, rousing in his Coach, and making a Visit to his several Posts and Preferments, and meeting the Caresses and Complements of his Acquaintance, in all Places where he comes; when I have considered in what Ease and Luxury he lives, rising perhaps about Nine or Ten a Clock, and it may be is at the pains to take a little breathing-Walk to whet his Appetite for a Feast; when I see him stuff his Carcass with fat Venison, and Claret, till the very Seams of it are ready to burst, and after Dinner dozing and smoking his Pipe with great Grace and Gravity: When I have seen all this, I say, I have been upon the point of envying such a Man's Happiness; when, lo! upon a sudden, Oh! I feel a Pain in my Foot, an intolerable and unexpected Pain! Good Man! all must needs be mightily concern'd for him, and the Town and Country must ring of this great and sudden Disaster. The House is alarm'd, the Doctor, or Apothecary, with other Dependants and Retainers to the Family, are sent for in post-haste; and after a critical Examination of the Matter by the whole Consult, without stirring from the Place, they give in their Verdict, that it is the Gout: And now perhaps my Grandee begins a little to reflect upon his former Life, and would gladly change States of Body with him who lives on

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mouldy Bread and Cheefe all the Week, and whose Drink perhaps is from the next Brook, or but one degree beyond Water.

The like Observations might be made upon other Extravagancies, such as Whoring, with all that Train of fatal Disasters which follow all Excess of our Passions, whether of Desire, Envy, Revenge, Anger, &c. all which are inseparably accompanied with such a Degree of Pain or Punishment, as far exceeds the imaginary Pleasures of any Intemperance, and is infinitely more lasting; so that *Quo quis peccat Eodem punitur*, is a Motto which ought to be engraven upon every Man's Heart, being universally true in all manner of Disorders whatsoever.

I have been told Abroad by some German Gentlemen, that it was a usual thing amongst them, in the Warmth of their Debauches, (which in those Countries are excessive) to drink their Healths out of the Barrel of a cock'd and loaded Pistol, with Finger on the Triquer, whilst they discharge the Wine into their Throats; so that upon the least Miscarriage of an unsteady Hand, the Bullet would not fail to do its Duty. This Point of Bravery being over, they all give a Volly on fire together, and then charge afresh, and so on. If this kind of Gallantry were in vogue amongst us, I believe we should have fewer Drunkards than now there are, and by going out of this World by a Draught of Flame, they would be better prepar'd to drink of it for ever in the next. But

But whilst some Countries indulge themselves in this Infernal or Stygian Recreation, we have Examples of Sobriety in others; so that the *French*, so extravagant as they are in some things, in this Particular, may justly reproach us for not following their Mode, as they do for following them in others; there being very few Gentlemen amongst them to be found who drink betwixt Meals, and even at their Meat they drink their Wine above half mix'd with Water, more or less, according to every Man's private Palate, and sometimes Water discolour'd only with a little Rosie-Tincture of Wine: And yet we do not find but that these Men have almost as much Mettle and Bravery in them as any Brandy-Hero whatsoever. Each Country has its National Vices as well as Vertues, whilst he who would acquire the Character of a Gallant Man, ought so to follow their Examples, as to propose what is good and commendable in them for his Imitation and Practise, declining their ill Customs as Things which bring Disesteem and Misery in the end.

Amongst the Abuses of Inns or Ale-houses, it is too well known what all Men suffer from their cheating Measures: Their Quart-Pots or Flagons, their Juggs, their Muggs, their Jacks, their Carmikins, their Beakers, their Tumblers, their Glass-Bottles, their Tankards, and above all, their Silver-Tankards, tho' all of them be pretty little Curiosities, yet are they most gross Cheats, not containing above a true Pint and

a half; so that in Four Shillings expended this way, One is pure Coufenage. Much better were it, if their Measures (after the Custom of other well polic'd Countries) were mark'd and seal'd, and reduc'd to a Standard all *England* over, as our Weights are over all the World: Whereas in a paltry Ale-house a small, slender-wasted Flagon; with a broad empty bottom, and with sides, back, and belly crush'd almost together, and capp'd half way with Froth, goes down very glibly with my bonny Customer at two or three Gulps; and when Good-fellows are upon the Quill of Drinking, the Strength and Capacity of the Man is much esteem'd by the Number of Flagons; whereas the silly Sot, perhaps, never drank half that quantity, for which he sets so high a Value upon himself, and pays so dearly.

The like Cheats we meet with daily from the trashy Ingredients of sophisticated Liquors, which many times does advance them double or treble in the Price, when really they are much beneath the Plain Drinks for Health and Goodness; nor are we to forget the hard Names with which many Liquors are baptiz'd; which puts me in mind of what I have sometime heard of a Two-Pot Knave, who being out of Reputation for Drink, or (to speak in the Language of a Tapster) being at the lowest Stoop, and on the very Dreggs and Lees of his Profession, was advis'd to make *Daucus-Ale*, which he christned *Blan-Carote*. This dainty



dainty new Name, by the help of some pleasant Waggs of his Acquaintance, was cry'd up for a curious Outlandish, *Low-Country Drink*; and this was sufficient to give it Credit, bringing such Custom to my honest Draw-Causor, that in a short time after, he became very rich, and was at the least a Squire's Fellow, and, for ought I know, something better. But such Cheats as these are rather to be wink'd at than punish'd; for I know no Law which can oblige a Magistrate to put Brains into the Heads of Fools; and to put them all into *Bedlam* who fall under this Character, would be very troublesome: Let them rest merry therefore, for their own and for others Diversion, till they fall irrecoverably into the Hands of the Catch-pole.

In summ, 'Tis the Business of a Resolute and Sober Magistrate to Reform Notorious Disorders, by Punishing the Offenders, and by Suppressing such Houses as are useless; permitting only in greater Towns some Publick Inns to serve the Occasions of Travellers, and of the Market; and upon the Occasions likewise of Fairs, to allow Private Houses a Liberty to sell Drink: For by this means, Inns will become well accommodated, and not as now, being (by reason of their great Numbers) ready to eat, or rather to drink, one another. In greater Towns and Cities, a greater Number or Proportion is to be allow'd, If Gentlemen likewise, and especially Justices of the Peace, would withdraw themselves

from these scandalous Places, unless oblig'd thereunto by Urgent or Publick Occasions, Sobriety would by degrees get ground, and others also be invited to follow their Good Examples: And as for Inns up and down the Country Roads, 'twere well if they gave good creditable Security and Caution to the Bench, for their honest Demeanour, better than what is usually taken in these Cases; and if a more watchful Eye were kept over them, from time to time; so that by these and other Prudent Methods, the Business of the Country would thrive and prosper, whilst they who are appointed to follow it are reduc'd to the Rules of Temperance and Frugality.

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## C H A P. XIII.

### *Of Servants and Labourers.*

**B**Efore I come to speak of Servants, as they are Members of our *English* Commonwealth, and of the Obligations or Duties under which they lie at present, it will not be improper to Discourse of them as they were in former Ages and Kingdoms of the World; or as they are a Part or Portion of a Commonwealth in General, and how they were treated in Ancient Times. Servants then, I say, in Ancient Times, were of Five kinds. The

The First were such as were *Servi* by Nature and Birth, as all those who were begotten on Bondwomen, Handmaids, or Harlots, or came of Parents of base and servile Condition: Of this kind we read of some in the Families of the Patriarchs of old, as also under the *Mosaical Law*, *Levit. 25.* where the Children of the Bondmen and Bondwomen, which were not of the Stock of *Israel* (for they were not allow'd to have Bond-Servants of their own Tribes) were look'd upon as their proper Inheritance, and to be accounted as Bondmen and Bondwomen for ever. Amongst the *Romans* likewise, such as were born of Bondwomen were call'd *Vernæ*, in opposition to such as were by Birth call'd *Ingenui*, or Free-born; which Custom still had a more peculiar Regard to the Woman, if she were of base and servile Condition: For, by the Civil Law, if a Woman were a *Serva*, and the Father free, the Issue were accounted Servile, or Slaves; as on the contrary, if a Man of servile Condition and Quality did beget a Child on the Body of a Free-woman, the Issue was look'd upon as Free-born: Hence came that Maxim of *Partus Sequitur Ventrem*, for we are more sure of the Mother than of the Father; and herein the Civil Law is directly contrary to our *Norman* or Ancient Customs: And 'tis not improbable, that *William* the Conqueror being himself a Bastard, and of base Blood by the Mother's side, thought good to measure the Pre-eminence of Birth from the Father's side.



A Second sort of Servants and Slaves amongst the Ancients, were such as were *Servi Jure Gentium*, as being taken Prisoners in War; it being ever adjudg'd Just, by the Laws of Nations, that such Prisoners should become Servants or Slaves to those who spar'd their Lives; and hence it was that by the *Romans* they were call'd *Servi quasi servati*, forasmuch as they were sav'd, I say, when by the Law of War they might have been kill'd. Of this kind the *Jews* had none, for they were still requir'd to kill their Enemies, without Quarter; a thing indeed which to us seems very harsh, and repugnant to the Dictates of Nature, and Laws of Humanity, which teach us to do to others what we would that they should do to us: No less contrary was their Behaviour in this Particular to the Practice of all Nations besides. We read indeed of the *Gibeonites*, that by Stratagem they circumvented the *Israelites*, and that they ever liv'd amongst them as Slaves or Bondmen.

A Third sort of Servants, who, by the Civil Law likewise were accounted *Servi* or Slaves, were such, who, tho' born free, yet sold or hir'd themselves to others for a certain Term, either of Years or Life. This was practis'd amongst the *Jews*, where we read of some that were hir'd only for a Year, and some for a longer Term, and these amongst the *Jews* were distinguish'd from Bondmen. For of their own Tribes, by the Law of God, none could be a Bondman, tho' they might sell, bind, or hire themselves to be

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Servants for a Term of Time ; and this was frequently practis'd by poor Debtors with their Creditors, which poor Debtors God commanded to be treated not as Bond-servants, but as hired Servants or Sojourners, with Gentleness and not with Rigour, *Levit. 25.* and that in the Year of *Jubilee*, when Liberty was proclaim'd to the Captive, they were to be set free ; tho' *Bodin* tells us, from *Dent. 15.* that such Servants or Debtors, were, by the Law of God, to be releas'd upon the Return of the Seventh Year, which was accounted Holy, and call'd a *Sabbath of Years* ; at which time also all hired Servants were to be at Liberty. Upon which Law is our Custom ground'd of binding Apprentices for Seven Years.

And here by the way a Question may be started, whether such an Apprentice, by being sold, or made a Bondman, for Seven Years, tho' descended of Gentile Parentage, does not forfeit the Privileges of his Blood ? For tho' he be not a Slave, such as were those amongst the *Romans*, yet being bound or sold into a State of Servitude, he thereby renounces actually that Liberty or Freedom which is essential to a Gentleman : So that in *France, Germany, Italy*, and in the Northern Parts, and elsewhere, where the Civil Law is in force, the *Low-Countries* only excepted, 'tis rarely seen that Gentlemen, tho' never so low in Fortune, will bind their Children Apprentices, nor make any Affinity with Merchants, tho' never so rich, unless they first purchase Honours  
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and quit their Traffick. Whereas, with us in *England*, we see the contrary every Day, forasmuch as we are not under the Directions of the Civil Law which entails such Privileges upon Blood. Nay, and what is yet more remarkable, the Nobility do not only condescend to make an Affinity and Relation with the Shops; but the Shop-keepers themselves, even Retailers, and sometimes meer Merchants, are inroll'd amongst the Nobility, or Orders of Knighthood; a thing which at the first blush looks a little Heterodox, *viz.* to see the Blew-Apron intitled to the Sword.

But to return to the *Jews*: It was a Custom or Law with them likewise, that in case a Servant should prefer his Master's Service before Liberty, he was to be brought before the Judges, and to have his Ear bor'd through with an Awl by his Master at the Door-Post of his House, and so he became his Servant for ever: Nevertheless, in case he liv'd to the Year of *Jubilee* he was to be set at Liberty, as most Interpreters agree, unless he should choose rather to serve a second time.

A Fourth sort of Servants or Slaves were those as were called *Servi Pœnae*, or such as were condemn'd to the Mines and Gallies, of which kind we have many in these our Days: And of this kind likewise are those with us who are adjudg'd to Publick Work-Houses, or *Bridewells*.

The Fifth and last kind of Servants or Slaves, were those who were sold by Robbers

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or Pirates, and might, *bona fide*, be possessed by those who purchas'd them, unless they knew them to be free; tho' by the Civil Law a Pyrate or Robber cannot divest a Freeman of his Liberty, however he may confine him in his Person, and force him as his Slave. To this Head likewise we may reduce all those who were of old sold by the *Tartars*, and sent into *Egypt*, as the *Mamalukes*, as those likewise who at this Day are sold Yearly by the same *Tartars* to the *Turks* in great Drovers; as those Blacks also of *Guinea*, in which our Merchants drive so Considerable a Trade.

The Power which Masters formerly had over their Servants or Slaves was very great: Amongst the *Jews*, 'tis true, this Power of Masters was restrain'd and limited by the *Mosaical Law*; for they had no Bond-Servants or Slaves, as I said before: Only poor Debtors might pawn their Service, and these were to be treated with all Mercy and Gentleness: And as to their hired Servants, in case a Master, by his over-Severity, should smite one of them with a Rod, that he died, the Master surely was to be punish'd, but not to be put to Death for it, as I conceive; and in case of a Maim, he was to let his Servant go free; but in case a Servant continued ill for a Day or two, by means of his Master's Correction, the Master was not to be punish'd, for such a Servant was his Money.

But amongst the *Romans* 'twas far otherwise: For there the Master or Patron had a full Power

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Power over the Life of his Servant, without the Cognizance of the Magistrate; inſomuch that *Aſenius Pollio* having invited *Auguſtus* upon a time to Supper, condemn'd his Servant to be caſt into a Pool or Lake, to be Food for the Lampreys, which he kept there in ſtore, becauſe he chanc'd to break a Cryſtal Glaſs; nor would *Pollio*, by the Interceſſion of *Auguſtus*, be prevail'd upon to ſpare his Servant's Life. If at any time it happen'd that the Patron or Maſter of the Family was found murder'd in his Houſe, all the Servants living under his Roof, tho' never ſo innocent, were inſtantly to be put to Death: Of which Cruelty we have a very Remarkable Example in *Pædonius*, Præfect of *Rome*; for, as *Tacitus* (*Lib. 14.*) reports, Great Interceſſion was made by the common People of *Rome* (who for the moſt part conſiſted of Libertines, or ſuch as being ſometimes Servants themſelves had been made free,) on the Behalf of the guiltleſs Servants, but all to little purpoſe: For, after the Debate of the Senate, it was reſolv'd, That the Cuſtom of their Anceſtors ſhould be kept inviolable; whereupon, without more ado, than with a *more majorum*, all the Servants in his Family, being in number Four Hundred, were put to Death: Nay, ſo little did the *Romans* value the Lives of their Slaves or Servants, that many times they commanded them to encounter with wild Beaſts, or with one another, in the open Theatre, purely for Divertiſement and Paſtime,

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under the Show of Bravery and Courage. 'Tis true, the *Petronian* Law forbid innocent Servants to be cast to wild Beasts. *Nero* likewise, and after him *Hadrian*, as *Spartian* tells us, appointed Judges to hear the Complaints of Servants, who at the Will and Pleasure of their Patrons were condemn'd to die: But all these Provisions were superceded by the more Ancient Custom, which plac'd a Power of Life and Death in the Will and Pleasure of their Masters.

This Arbitrary and Unlimited Power in the Patrons or Masters made their Servants or Slaves take Sanctuary at the Temples and Images of their Gods: But neither the Statues of *Cæsar*, nor the Temple of *Diana*, which King *Servius* appointed as an Asylum for Servants; nor the Statue of *Romulus*, appointed by the Senate for this End and Purpose, could afford any Protection, no more than the Sepulchre of *Theseus* at *Athens*, or the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*. Tho' *Tiberius* (as my Author *Bodin* observes) with great Policy caus'd his own Statue to be erected as an Asylum for fugitive Servants, withal menacing Death to any who should take such Servants from thence; and this the subtle Tyrant did, not for the Good and Safety of such Servants, but with Design that they might more easily be tempted to conspire against their Masters; and thus he kept the Masters under Awe and slavish Obedience by the Protection he gave their Servants. Upon the like Score it was that *Sylla*, having



having proscris'd or banish'd Sixty Thousand Citizens, the better to consummate his hellish Villany and Cruelty, animated the Servants to cut the Throats of their Masters, with the Promise of Liberty; amongst whom, one bringing the Head of his Master to *Sylla*, he kept his Promise; for he manumis'd him, or made him free, but withal commanded him to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian Rock* or *Precipice*, the usual Punishment for condemn'd Persons, as a Reward justly due to such a Traitor.

No wonder then if Jealousies arose betwixt Masters and Servants, which broke forth afterwards into dreadful Tumults, and were accompanied with infinite Treacheries and Murders; for at one and the same time, in all the Cities belonging to *Italy*, *Messana* in *Sicily* excepted, the Servants conspired against their Masters: And afterwards, in the time of *Crassus*, above 60000 Servants took up Arms at once, under the Command of one *Spartacus*, a bold Slave and a *Gladiator*, and put three Armies of the *Romans* to flight: For so it was, that the Number of Servants or Slaves was ten times greater than that of those who were born free; insomuch that *M. Crassus* himself numbred no less than 500 belonging to him, besides such as attended always on his Domestic Concerns. And that there might be some Distinction made betwixt Servants and those who were born free, it was debated in the *Roman* Senate, That all Servants should wear one

one certain Badge or Habit; but this design was laid aside by the more prudent Suggestion of one of the Senators, saying, *that by this means the Servants would be able to know their own Numbers and Strength, and so be tempted to cut their Patrons Throats.* Hence it became Capital for any Servants to carry Arms, as it is at this day in *Paris* for Lacqueys, since the Tumult raised there of above Twenty Thousand armed Lacqueys, which put that City under a great Consternation, upon the Execution of a Criminal who wore a Liver-ry.

But amongst the *Romans*, in case of any Urgent Necessity, they first made their Servants free, and then arm'd them: Thus did *Scipio Africanus* after the Battle of *Cannæ*, manumising three hundred Slaves fit for Service, Nor were their Slaves suffer'd to row in their Gallies before they had been manumised, as *Helvius* reports of *Augustus*, in his Naval Battle at *Actium*. On the contrary, *Justin* tells us, (*lib. 41.*) 'That the *Parthians* were not 'suffer'd by their Laws to manumise their Servants or Slaves, whereupon they were constrained to treat them with the same Affection and Courtesie as they did their own Children, breeding them up to Horsemanship, and to the Quiver, and by this means 'they became very Numerous, and serviceable 'in their Wars. For in the *Parthian* Army, which put *M. Antonius* to Flight, there were but Five Hundred Freemen, the rest, who  
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were fifty thousand Horsemen, were all Slaves. Now because the *Romans* never trusted their Slaves with their Arms, the better to prevent Disorders, they employ'd them in some Manual Occupation or Trade, which by the Institution of *Numa Pompilius*, it was not lawful for Free Citizens to profess. And yet for all this, we find that in their Civil Wars, their Slaves would still quit their Masters, and side with one Party or the other, in hopes to better their Fortunes; so that *Augustus* after the War finished with *Sextus Pompeius* took no less than Thirty Thousand of them Prisoners, all which, for adhering to *Pompey*, were delivered over to their respective Masters, to be put to Death by them for their Desertion, and such whose Masters or Patrons were already deceas'd, he forthwith commanded to be hang'd.

And such truly was the Number of these Servants or Slaves in the Christian Empire, that when *Mahomet* revolted in *Arabia*, he sent his Embassador *Homarus* to proclaim liberty to all Servants or Slaves who should follow his Standard: Whereupon such a vast Number of them throng'd from all Quarters, that he soon subdu'd the fairest Provinces of the Eastern Empire. This Success of the *Asiatick* Slaves soon invited the *Europeans* to rebel against their Patrons: For about the Year 781, the Servants in *Spain* took up Arms for their Liberty, as likewise in *France* about the time of *Charles the Great*, and *St. Lewis*, as appears by their Laws against the Conjuraton

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of Servants: And such verily was their Power about this Time, that *Lothair*, the Son of *Lewis*, being twice beaten by his Brethren, proclaim'd Liberty to all the Slaves and Servants who should come to his Assistance, by which means he recruited his Armies. After which Time the Slaves and Servants every where grew so insolent and insupportable, that the Christian Princes thought it the safest way to give them their Liberty by degrees, and so free themselves from those dangerous Eruptions with which they were daily menaced from their Power, which could not well be restrained and limited; retaining only a successory Right to the Goods and Fortunes of such Libertines or Freed Men, in case they died without Issue, which in the Stile of that and of after Ages, were called *Mort-mains*.

In sum, as soon as the Christian Religion began to triumph over *Paganism*, there was a Door opened for a greater Liberty, which was made much wider by *Mahomet's* Indulgence, which forbid any of his own Religion to be Slaves. Hereupon the Christians likewise thought it just to indulge the like Liberty to those of their own Profession, which yet had not its due effect for some considerable time after. For about the Year 1200, there were some remains still of Servitude, as appears from the several Decretals of *Alexander* the Third, *Urban* the Third, and *Innocent* the Third, wherein speaking of the Marriages of Servants, they were not called *Connubia* or *Matrimonia* (the Canonical

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words for Marriages betwixt Free Persons) but *Contubennia*, which word the Lawyers always us'd to distinguish the Marriage of Servants from that of those who lived in a state of Liberty. However, in the time of *Bartolus*, who liv'd about the Year 1300, there were no Slaves or Servants of the Ancient Stamp to be any where found; and *Lewis Hutin*, about the Year 1313, manumis'd all Servants throughout his Kingdom, for a certain Summ of Money, which, as the Learned *Bodin* interprets, must be understood of such Libertines as were called *Mortmains* in former Ages, who by the Prince's Indulgence were releas'd from that Bond of Servitude by which they were restrain'd from marrying, or alienating their Goods out of their Patrons Territories.

The Right and Title which Patrons of old had to their Slaves or Servants, was as great and unquestionable as that which they had to their Lands and Houses, or any other Possession whatsoever; insomuch that neither the Magistrate, at the Request of the People, nor yet the Authority of the Emperor, could alienate or extinguish that Authority which a Master had over his Servant, or make him Free without his Consent: Nay, the Emperor had not Power to bestow a Ring of Gold, which was a sort of Military Reward, and conferr'd usually as a Badge of Gratuity upon those who deserv'd well of the Prince; I say, the Emperor had not Power to bestow such a Gift upon a Libertine, without the Consent of the Patron;

Patron; infomuch as *Commodus* commanded all the Gold Rings to be taken from off the Hands of those who had been rewarded with them without their Patrons Leave. So that by the Imperial Laws, no Prejudice could happen to the Patron by such Rewards, although a Prince should restore a Servant to his Birth-right, or that State in which he was born, which Prerogative was solely in the Prince.

The way of making Slaves free was by a Box on the Ear, which the Master gave the Servant as a Farewel-stroke to his Servitude. This was call'd *Manumising*; and then the Master bestowing on him a Tufted Cap to cover his shav'd Crown, he was reputed a *Liber-tus*, or Freed-man; so that *ad Pileam vocare* was us'd as a Phrase amongst the *Romans*, to signifie a Man's Advancement into a State of Liberty: For Slaves always were shav'd, and went bare-headed, as it is at this Day us'd by the *Turks*. And for this Reason likewise 'twas, that Priests heretofore, and at this Day in the *Roman Church*, wear their Heads shav'd, to shew, that they are wholly dedicated as Servants or Slaves to the Service of God. The *Pileus* or Cap then was a Badge of Liberty; and for this Reason 'twas that *Brutus* caus'd his Medals to be stamp'd on the Reverse with a Cap betwixt two Ponyards, thereby signifying the Liberty which was procur'd to the People of *Rome* by the Blow which *Julius Cæsar* receiv'd from his Dagger.



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By an Ancient Law of *Justinian*, all *Libertines* were for ever restor'd, or transplanted rather, into the State of those whom the *Legists* call *Ingenui*, without any farther receipt. But this Law is antequated; for by the Civil Law now in use, 'tis the Prince only for the Time being who can range a *Libertine*, co-etaneous with himself, amongst those we call *Ingenui*, or Free-born; no Prince being capable to extend his Grace to such as shall be made *Libertines* in future Ages: And as the Prince has a Power now a-days to exalt a *Libertine* into the Order of the *Ingenui's*, without the Leave of his Patron; so the Patron too has still his Title to such Goods and Possessions of his *Libertine* as were acquir'd before his Translation to his Freedom; and this by the Civil Law the Prince cannot alienate or extinguish, as appears from the Judgment of the Court of *Paris*, by the Testimony of the most Learned *Bodin*. Nevertheless, an *Ingenuus* thus made by the Grace and Favour of his Prince, may leave his Children whatsoever he gets after his Instalment; and in case he has no Issue, he has a Right to Legacy his Goods to whom he pleases.

The Ancient *Jews*, tho' they were allow'd to take Bondmen from among such as were Strangers or Sojourners with them, yet such Bondmen or Strangers being once circumcis'd, were under the same Privileges with those who were Free-born, *Exod. 12*. But amongst the *Turks* 'tis otherwise at this present Day: For tho'

tho' in the Beginning of their Empire (like *Romulus*) they incorporated all sorts of Slaves and Servants, who follow'd their Arms, their Empire nevertheless being new-settled or built, they proceed by other Policies, notwithstanding the Laws of *Mahomet*, their Prophet and Founder, to the contrary; for albeit the *Mahometans* do circumcise and instruct the Children of *Christians* in their own Superstition, yet they think good still to treat them and their Children like Slaves. Howbeit, the Janizaries, and those of the *Seraglio*, tho' Tribute-Children, (forasmuch as Men may hope to reap better Fruit from Youths of pregnant Parts, and of a better Education,) are treated in another manner than those of ordinary Promises, and are not therefore to be accounted Slaves properly, being appointed to the peculiar Service of the Prince, and are many times by their Merit advanc'd to the greatest Places of Trust and Power. In Imitation of the *Turkish* Policies, or Perfidiousness rather, the *Portuguese* heretofore compell'd such Slaves as they bought or brought from *Africa*, to abjure *Mahometism*, and to be baptiz'd; nevertheless they still treated them and their Offspring as Slaves, selling them openly in the Market like Cattle; a thing certainly very repugnant to the Laws of Christianity, as well as to the Commands of God by *Moses*.

The like Barbarity was practis'd by the *Spaniards* in *America*, which *Charles* the Fifth, Anno 1540. endeavour'd to restrain: Where-

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upon *Gonzala Pizarus*, the then Governour in these Parts, rebell'd; but being afterwards taken Prisoner, was executed, and all Slaves mada free, being oblig'd only to labour for their Masters in the nature of hired Servants. However, long it was not before the *Spaniards*, following the Example of the *Portuguese*, fell to the Trade of selling Slaves like Cattle; in-  
somuch as at this present Day, throughout all the Grand-Signior's Dominions, throughout the Kingdoms and Provinces of the East, throughout all *Africa* and *America*, and throughout most Countries of Christian Prin-  
ces bordering on the *Turks*, Slaves are sold openly in the Market like Beasts; so that the World now seems as much or more replenish'd with Slaves than in the Times of Ancient Paganism. Nay, amongst the *Turks*, the poor Christian Captives are stigmatiz'd in their Bodies with hot Irons, as we do burn our Hor-  
ses, thereby impressing an indelible Character upon their Bodies, that all the World may know to whom they do belong: A most infam-  
ous sort of Usage! and never practis'd by the *Romans* upon their Slaves, unless such as were most desperate and obdurate Villains.

And yet, let Men steer by what Policies they please, it is certainly true, that it can never be the Interest of a Government to be over-stock'd with Slaves: For never was *Rome* in great'r Danger than when *Spartanus* headed Sixty thousand of them in the very Body of *Italy*; at which Time the Empire was infested with



with Fourſcore thouſand Pyrates, who with Nine hundred Ships ravag'd all the Cities of the Mediterranean, at their Will and Pleaſure, the Suppreſſion of which Pyrates was one of the Glorious Atchievements of *Pompey*, and procur'd him the Title or Sir-name of *Great*.

Nor are our Plantations in the *West-Indies* free from the like Dangers, as appears from the frequent Inſurrections and villainous Attempts. Much better were it, certainly, after the Project of *Charles* the Fifth, above-mentioned, to inſtruct ſuch Wretches in the Principles of Chriſtianity, and then baptize them, treating them in the nature of Servants for Term of Life, or upon other Terms, without the infamous Uſage of Selling them: For theſe inhumane Reſtraints are the things which fill them with Reſentments blacker than their Bodies. For notwithſtanding the Fabulous Reports of ſome, none doubts in Reaſon but that they are, notwithſtanding their Complexions, of the ſame Species with Whites, and have Souls to be ſav'd as well as others. The Merchant, perhaps, cares not if the Devil enſnares their Souls; ſo he may have the uſe of their Bodies. However, it would be worth a ſerious Conſideration of the Governours of our Church, if they would extend their Care a little this way, their Neglect or ill Succeſs in converting Pagans, and ſpreading the Goſpel amongſt Infidels, being one of the greateſt Arguments which the Papiſts  
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bring against our Church, as their Care, Diligence, and Success in this Particular is one of the best Arguments they can offer in the Behalf of theirs.

And thus having given a Summary Relation or History of the State of Slaves or Servants, and of what Account they were in former Ages, and in Foreign Kingdoms and Empires of the World, I now must think of returning home again into our *English* Soil, which certainly is too mild and favourable to such Mercenaries, as others heretofore were too severe. What I shall write concerning them, is not out of Prejudice or Passion, but from a disinterested Spirit, and upon manifest Experience; for I dare boldly affirm, that there is not a more insolent and proud, a more untractable, perfidious, and a more churlish sort of People breathing, than the Generality of our Servants; and that the great Discouragement to Husbandry, and the great Expence we lie under, together with the many Vexations and Disappointments we daily meet with, are deriv'd chiefly from their great Disorders, which, if not mutually remedied, will insensibly, or rather most sensibly, reduce the Kingdom into a more languishing State: But this must be the Work of the Subordinate Magistrates.

Come we then, I say, to consider Servants as they are a Part or Portion of our *English* Commonwealth, at present; where it must be

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acknowledg'd, in the first place, that they are the Instruments, or rather the Hands, by which the good Husbandman does subsist and live: So that he who has the good Fortune to meet with such as are Faithful, has found, doubtless, one of the greatest Blessings of which this Life is capable; as on the contrary, he that shall rely on such as are Lazy, Wastful, and False, needs no other Curse to make him miserable; and let the Master be never so Honest, Laborious, and Prudent, he shall never prosper in the World whilst they are in his Service.

Men of more plentiful Fortunes and Credit have an Advantage over Servants and Labourers, especially if such Masters be Men in Office; because 'tis oftentimes in their Power to humble them, or to do them good: For such is the Temper of a base and servile Nature generally, as renders it insensible of Obligation, or Courtesie, Men of this Character caring little for any, but upon the aforesaid Considerations. Hence it is that Great Men do in a manner command the Services and Labours of others, and a Right Worshipful shall never want Hands when his Occasions shall call for them. As for a Gentleman of the Fourth or Fifth Rate, or those of about a Hundred *per Annum*, they are, probably, in the worst Post of any to reap Advantage from such Instruments: So that I dare be bold to say, that a Yeoman-like Man, of about Forty or Fifty Pounds *per Annum*, shall keep a better House, and



and lie warmer than the former: For a Yeoman goes himself and works with his Servants; so that there is not only the Labour of one Hireling sav'd, but the Good Man being always in Company with his Workmen, he is sure to have a Pennyworth, and to see his Business go forward; and 'tis very well known too, that Servants will of themselves work much more heartily when the Master partakes with them in the Labour, than when they are left to themselves. Moreover, such a good Husbandman buying or selling all things himself, and looking to all his Cattle and Tack of Husbandry with his own Eyes, or being constantly employ'd in his own Affairs, can never receive Prejudice from the Ignorance, Negligence, and Falshood of Servants, which I am confident amounts to one Third of the Income; so that he must needs suffer, and that very considerably, in his Interest, were he to trust all his Concerns with others. Whereas a Gentleman, unless he be such a one as has been bred up to the Plow, cannot labour with his own Hands, nor may he go to Market to sell his own Corn, forsooth; and if he ventures to buy or sell Cattle himself, 'tis five to one but he is over-reach'd; and if he lies within Doors, or follows his Recreations without, 'tis the same Odds, that his Servants neglect his Business, or attend their own, *viz.* to filch and cheat him.

Servants or Labourers are of two sorts, Domestick, and such as live by the Year, or such

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as we commonly call Day-Labourers, whether Carpenters, Masons, &c. or other poor Men which we employ about our Husbandry. I begin with Domesticks, who certainly are as much debas'd in their Duty, as they are advanc'd in themselves beyond what they were at in former Times. Forty Years ago, Three Pounds Ten Shillings was the Wages of a good Bailiff, or Capital Hind; as likewise Forty or Fifty Shillings of a young Fellow: But now their Wages is risen One third, at least. The Reason hereof can be no other than the wastful manner of Living amongst many of our Gentry, who abandoning themselves to Drinking, Feasting, fine Apparel, Furniture, and superfluous Retinue; as likewise to the Vanity of excessive giving to Servants at one anothers Houses, there is such an Emulation amongst them, who shall spend his Estate most nobly, as they call it, that even the very Servants themselves will ape their Masters in riotous Living and Excess, and are as modish in their Habits; so that in former Ages they would have been mistaken (God bless 'em!) for Gentlemen of the First Order. To maintain which Vanity, they must advance their Wages, which, instead of making them more Thankful and Diligent, does but render them commonly more Disobedient and Proud. To remedy which Disorders, nothing can be more helpful than good Sumptuary Laws, confining every Man to live in a modest *Decorum*, according to his Condition and Quality, and,



and, above all, reducing Servants to their primitive Frugal Habit: For a Clown, certainly, and a draggle-tail'd Kitchen-Wench, when trick'd up like my Master and Lady, cannot choose but have a mighty Opinion of their own Merit and Improvements. The Cat, when she was dress'd out of the Wardrobe of *Venus*, sate at Table with the State and Demureness of a Virgin-Bride; but as soon as a Mouse cross'd the Room, Puss forgets her Majesty, and running eagerly upon the Prey, shew'd her self to be a pure ravenous Animal, and fit only to live on Vermine. A paltry Chambermaid, which came but just now all perfum'd from emptying and cleansing the Vessels of the Chamber, shall appear at Table in her Flower'd Manteau, and her tottering Commode, forsooth; but notwithstanding all, upon every trivial Accident and Turn, will not fail to shew her self to be a meer errant Cat, destin'd by Nature to feed on meaner Fare.

Amongst the many Knaveries of Servants there is one trickish piece which they usually put in practice, *viz.* When a Servant's Year draws towards an end, without giving Notice of his Intentions to his Master, he hunts about for a fresh Service, and when he has found a Place where he can advance his Wages, he hires himself by taking Earnest; and then discoursing with his Old Master, if he cannot make better Terms with him than those with his new one, he quits him, and serves the new one; but in case he can get more from the old one,



one, he leaves the latter in the lurch, sending him only his Earnest again, and continues with his former Master : So that whosoever hires such a Rogue, may be in danger of being deceiv'd, and may be put to his shifts, whilst my juggling Merchant lies at his Liberty of choosing which he will of the two, and consequently of leaving one of them unprovided. I know not whether the second Master may bring his Action against the first, for retaining him whom he had hir'd : But certainly there is all the Reason in the World, that such a false Rascal should be prefer'd to serve a third Master, I mean him of *Bridewel*, there to labour and earn his Bread amongst other Statutable Rogues.

'Tis very true, the Laws of our Kingdom have made a good Provision against such Cheats, forbidding all Persons to hire any Servant without a Discharge from his former Master, or at least a Certificate from the Parish he has liv'd in, of his Honesty and good Behaviour ; so that he who hires a Person without such a Certificate, is obnoxious to an Action. But so it is, that this good Statute seems to be antiquated by non-usage ; and the contrary Course seems to have gain'd the Force of a Law by a continual and uninterrupted Practice, since we rarely meet with any who insist upon these ancient Forms. Hence it is that Men are much in the dark as to the Qualification of their Servants, taking them upon trust, or perhaps like Vagabonds at the Doors :  
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For should a Man stand upon the Niceties of the Statute, he might sooner starve than be furnish'd with a Servant. It highly concerns therefore the Gentlemen of a County, to whom these Matters are referr'd as Judges, to see this good Law executed; which, if duly observ'd, would quickly bring Servants to that Sense of Duty as would make all Affairs of a Country Life both profitable and pleasant.

To this End and Purpose it would be expedient, that no Servant, I mean such as are to be employ'd in Husbandry, should be suffer'd to hire himself in any other County than that he was born in: For by this means the Actions of his Life would easily be inspected, and the Servant himself be prevented from wandring like a Vagabond, escaping the Punishment due to the Rogueries he might commit in one County, by shifting into another.

Secondly, It would be very expedient likewise, that of Servants, against whom there is sufficient Proof made of their ill Behaviour, there should be a Record or Memorandum of such Offences entred into a Register, and to be kept by the Church-Wardens of every Parish: For by this means they would be still bridled from playing the Rogue. And, in the last place, 'twould be expedient that it might have the Power of the Bench at their Sessions, or rather of the Judges in their respective Circuits, to limit and determine the Wages of Hinds for the Purposes, not to exceed Four Pounds *per Annum*, and of others proportionably, making all



all Transgressions of such an Order, whether Masters or Servants, to be obnoxious to a Penalty. These Three Points duly executed, would quickly make the Servants honest and industrious, and fit consequently to be trusted: By these means likewise the Masters would become wealthy, and able to provide for their Families, and supply the Publick Exigence upon occasion; and in like manner the Servants themselves, when married, would betake themselves to their honest Labour, and thereby provide for their Wives and Children, and for themselves too in Time of Sicknefs and Old Age, and not leave themselves a Burden upon the Parish, nor liable to be prosecuted for ill Courses, as being bred up Strangers to them in their youthful Days: For he who has been a wastful, pilfering, or idle Servant, will never make an honest Labourer in his declining Years, but go on from Roguery to Roguery; as on the other hand, one who has been acquainted with Frugality, and has been found true when a Servant, will have something to help them forwards in the World, by taking of a Farm, and by his former Actions gain Trust with his Landlord, and Credit in his Dealings.

And because Rewards sometimes are found to have as great, or a greater Force upon some Natures than Punishments, it might not be improper if some Privileges or honorary Marks were conferr'd upon such Servants as should continue Seven Years in a Service, the same  
being



being to be entered into the Parish-Register, for the Reputation and future Advantage of such Servants; such Memorandums, Gratuities, and Privileges, being a good Fund of Credit upon which Servants might begin the World; it being no way to be doubted, but that one who has liv'd some Years in a Service, will use his utmost Endeavours, by a faithful and diligent Behaviour, to preserve to the End of such a Term of Years as would be so advantageous to him.

Labourers, whether Artificers, or such as drudge in Husbandry at Day-wages, are another sort of Servants, as being hir'd at a certain Price to labour for us. The Tricks and Shifts of Workmen are too many to be particularly spoken to: Therefore they who deal with such, ought to be cautious and prudent: 'Tis the common Use of Workmen to undertake more than they ever intend or are able to perform; and this they do that they may have many Strings to their Bow, to serve them upon all Occasions, which infallibly puts them upon a Necessity of breaking their Words for several times, perhaps, one after another, and of leaving what they undertake unfinished, frequently to the great Damage of those who are concern'd with them. In which case a Man must hold his Tongue within his Teeth; for to prosecute their Neglect, would be such an Alarm to others of the same Profession, that a Man might very well rest assur'd with himself, never to get any of this kind to come  
near

near him ; for usually they all combine and hang together.

There is one Notorious and Common Cheat practis'd by all Labourers, or Workmen, such as Carpenters or Masons, I mean in the Countries, who usually hire some vagabond or indigent Boys or Fellows, which they call Journeymen or Labourers: These, the most ignorant of their Trade must have Wages, as tho they had serv'd an Apprenticeship ; so that 'tis common, and I have found, and do daily find by Experience, That a Mason shall take up half a Starv'd Rogues and Boys to serve them, subducting clandestinely Two Pence a day out of their Wages pretending for the purpose, that they pay a Boy Six Pence *per diem*, and receive the same of their Masters, when by under-hand Contract they pay such Boys but a Groat, and so of Men-Labourers: So that a Mason or Carpenter shall by this way of Cheating, get his Half Crown a Day, if he has many Underlings: And when such Boys or Labourers are tired with their Slavery, they pick up other lazy and Indigent Vagabonds, who being shortned in their Maintenance, pilfer and watch all opportunities of stealing where-ever they are entertained. 'Twould be very prudently done therefore, if the Gentlemen of the Bench would have a more especial Eye to this Abuse, and 'twere to be wish'd that they were empower'd to settle Apprentices upon such Artifices as are most necessary for the Country, a

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Plowrights, Carpenters, Masons, &c. that so there might be some train'd up still to serve the Country in these necessary Occasions, whereas Masons, Plowrights, and the like, rarely take Apprentices, that so they may keep the Husbandman in continual dependance on them, and engross all to themselves, so that a Man may hunt some Miles many times, and wait many Weeks for such sort of Engineers, and Court and Sneek, for fear of displeasing them: And when any such knavish Workman chance to die, there's a mortal Breach or Gap made in all Country Business; so that a Man's Husbandry may cool upon his hands before he shall have the good Fortune to be reliev'd.

There are four sorts of Labourers, who when hir'd by the Day-labour for 12 or 14 *d. per diem*, as the Work is, or as the Rates run commonly in the Country in which they live; and yet the same men when they undertake Work by Task, shall gain twice as much in a day; which shews plainly, that when they wrought by the day, they did not exert half their Strength and Labour; a notorious piece of knavery and deceit. I do not much approve therefore of hiring Men by Task, unless the Work be such as depends upon many subordinate and inferiour Workmen of divers kinds; as in Building, Projecting and the like, where the Head-Undertaker must be suppos'd to have a greater Insight into all things thereon depending than an ordinary private Person can pretend to, and therefore if a Man be di-



diligent in computing his Charge, and wary in making his Bargain, he may ease himself probably of a great Trouble and Expence, which he will not fail to meet with in chaffering every day at the Workmen of several Occupations; which must needs be a Business of Hazard and Vexation.

But my Business at present concerns such rather as we commonly call Day-Labourers; as *Hedgers, Ditchers, Thrashers, Wood-cutters*, with such-like servile Labourers as are more nearly concern'd with the honest Farmer or Husbandman. And here I think my Observation does not fail me, *viz.* that in times of greatest Plenty, Labourers are in greatest scarcity; for so it is, that lazy Fellows (and such common Labourers are for the most part, they especially of the baser sort) can in times of Plenty maintain themselves for a Week, perhaps, with Three Days Labour: For generally such sort of Cattle will work only from Hand to Mouth, knowing, that in case of Old Age, Sickness, or Increase of Children, the Parish must maintain them; and if they have at any time Six Pence in Bank, the next Ale-house lays an Embargo on it; or if we be in an absolute necessity of their Labour, we must purchase it at extraordinary Rates. Now this is evidently the Ruine of the Husbandman, *viz.* To give most to hire Labourers, when the Productions of the Earth yield him the least Profit; and what is yet worse, the Number of Poor encreases. For few will labour when the Earth yields them Food for nothing,

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which Observation may be yet farther improv'd from hence; that the most fertile and plentiful Countries are ever stock'd with Vagabonds and Beggars, whilst the hungry and barren parts have no Entertainment for such unprofitable Vermin, and consequently the Inhabitants grow rich (or at least are not poor.)

To remedy which Evil there can be no better way than for the Justices of the Peace, once every Year, to regulate the Rates and Wages of such Labourers, according as the Profits and Productions of the Earth shall ebb or flow, as also severely to punish such nuisant Fellows as shall neglect their daily labour: For the Rule of the Civil Law is most certainly true, *That it is for the Welfare and Interest of the Commonwealth, that every man should make a good use of his time, and of his own propriety.*

There are another sort of wandring Labourers, or Merchants-Errant, as Journey-men Taylors, Journey-men Shoemakers, and the like, which wandring from Country to Country, are entertained in Towns and Country-Villages, where these Gentlemen stay usually no longer than till they can make an acquaintance with the Neighbouring Grounds, Shops or Stables, and then away march these Professors of the Gentle-Craft, and renew their Trade in some other Country, and so on to the end of their Lives, unless they fall peradventure, into the hands of the Press-Master, or of the Hang-man.

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There is yet a further sort of Mungrel-Labourers, or Merchants-Errant, as Common Pedlars, Fiddlers, Coblers, Juglers, Fruit-Carriers, Tinkers, Rag-men, Rat-catchers, Rope-Dancers, and the like, which wandering up and down the World, pretend to live by their Labour and their Wits, being a sort of Pilfring Rogues, fit only to receive their Wages at the Stocks or Whipping-Post. As for our *Scotch* Merchants, or Travelling Pedlars, they are not unwelcome to the Places they frequent: for tho they be *Scots*, that is, such as will never loose any thing which may be got; yet to such who know how to deal with them, they afford good Penny-worths enough, and are inoffensive in their way of Living; so that they are rather to be counteranc'd than discouraged; and if they under-sell the Shops, 'tis the Drapers fault: For certainly, Men will rather buy what they want when brought home to their Doors, than go abroad to purchase the same at a dearer rate: Perhaps the Shops cannot afford it so cheap, being oblig'd to maintain a Family, and to pay Rent, with other Duties: But this is nothing to the Buyer, who will still lay out his Money where he meets with best Cheap; which is no other than what the Shop-keepers themselves do daily practice.

Whether it be better for a House-keeper to have his Work manag'd by Day-Labourers, or by Domesticks, is a Point likewise of some Consideration in the Oeconomy of a Family.



Domesticks probably may be a greater Charge, because we are oblig'd to pay and provide for them, even then when they do us no Service, as in case of Sicknes, or of unseasonable Weather, or of wanting a full Employment: In all which cases, Day-Labourers ly more easie upon us, as being paid no longer than they work; but for all this, 'tis better to have Work wanting for our Servants, than Servants for our Work; and besides, as Day-Labourers are ever and anon failing us in times of greatest Occasion, so have they greater opportunities of cheating their Masters, by having Houses of their own where to bestow whatsoever they can cleverly make away with, and 'tis with such Retainers to Houses, likewise, whether Day-Labourers, Chair-Women, Nurses and the like, that the Domestick Servants themselves ever hold a more than ordinary Correspondence in the Art and Methods of Filtching.

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## CHAP. XIV.

### *Of the P O O R.*

**T**HE Poor, if they be not a considerable, yet are they a Numerous Party in a Commonwealth, and in this sense therefore, worthy of our consideration. But before I treat

treat of them with regard to our *English* Meridian, I shall take a little larger Compass, and make some Remarks upon them as they stood at the beginning, or in the First Ages of the World.

In the First Ages then, as I have hinted in the precedent Chapter, it was a usual thing for the poorer sort of People (who abounded with Children, as living generally a temperate and frugal life) to pawn themselves and Children to Usurers upon the Loan of Money, or other Necessaries for their Support and Livelihood. The Oppressions of these Usurers many times drew such poor People to commit Disorders, which made *Plato* of old to observe, That there were Two Extreames equally destructive to a Commonwealth, viz. Riches and Poverty: For where Men are very Rich and Great, especially under a Commonwealth, they are apt to fall presently into Factions: This was the Case of *Rome* under the Triumvirates of *Cæsar*, *Pompey* and *Crassus*; and soon after, of *Augustus*, *M. Antonius*, and *Lepidus*: And of later times we find the like in *Flórence*, when it was a Commonwealth, till at length all submitted to the Power of the *Medici*, who by the help of *Leo* the 10th, who was of that Family, got the Sovereignty over all the rest. And on the other hand, where a Republick is over-stockt with Poor, such Poor being numerous are always ready to be seditious, and have sometimes made the Government to shake, when they have reflected a while upon

the unequal Distributions of Fortune, and upon the wretched Estate they live in, compar'd with that of other Men.

Upon this Consideration 'twas, that the most celebrated Lawgivers of *Greece* asserted an equal Distribution of Goods, or at least of Lands, to be the best Expedient for the Conservation of a Commonwealth in Peace and Tranquillity, and amongst the Modern, Sir *Thomas More* likewise was of this Opinion in his *Utopia*, being the Model he form'd of a Commonwealth. And yet notwithstanding such Projects of Wise Men, we do not find that they ever brought them to any great Maturity: For when the *Thebans* and *Phocians* planted a Colony, and sent their Embassadors to *Plato*, entreating him to prescribe them some good Laws for the Establishment of their New Commonwealth, he miscarried in his Design: For they of the Colony, refused to submit to such a levelling or equal Partition of Goods as was contriv'd by his direction. *Lycurgus* is said to have effected this in the allotment he made of Lands, tho' with some peril of his Life. *Solon* likewise was of the same Judgment, but could never bring his Project about: For when *Agis* King of the *Lacedemonians* was attempting to make an equal Distribution of Lands, he was seiz'd by the *Ephori*, and put to Death in Prison.

And here I cannot but admire a little at the Mistakes of so many wise Men: For upon such a levelling of Possessions these fatal inconveni-



veniencies must of necessity follow, as 1<sup>st</sup>, That no man will think of being industrious, when the fruits of his Labour must go to maintain the idle and profuse; nor can a Commonwealth subsist without Justice; nor is there any place for Justice, where all Bargains are disannull'd and banished; nor any Faith and Credit to be given to the most solemn Obligations, whether of Promises or Contracts. 2<sup>dly</sup>, such a levelling of Lands will make a horrid confusion and distraction in matters of Inheritance: For 'tis reported of *Lycurgus*, the great Oracle of his Age, and Patron of levelling, that in his own life-time he saw above Twenty Heirs to one Estate, and likewise as many Estates or Inheritances to fall to one from the want of Heirs in the other Branches of the Family: So that do whatever he could, an inequality of Fortune was the unavoidable consequence of a Civil Constitution.

However, it must be granted too, that in the first Planting of a Colony, such *Agrarian* Laws may be allowed of, by which all Men may have an equal share in the Dividend; yet so as still to allow a Prerogative to Primogeniture, and the liberty of after-Contracts, without which a City or Commonwealth cannot subsist, and which will inevitably reduce Men under an equality of Fortune: Tho' twould be still much better, and more just, upon the settling of a Colony, to proceed not by an Arithmetical Proportion, that is, by an equal division of Lands amongst the *Coloni*;  
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but by a Geometrical Proportion, which with regard to Persons Merits and Circumstances, allows some to have a greater share than others, and this is called *Distributive Justice*: For to deprive the poorer sort from having a share in the Dividend, is the way to throw down a New-form'd Government before it is upon the Hinges; as it happened anciently at *Thurium*, where when the Great Ones had monopoliz'd to themselves all the Lands belonging to that Territory, leaving the poor Debtors under the Burthen and Exaction of their Creditors; such oppressed Debtors conspir'd and expell'd their Lordships from their Lands and City: Whereas the prudent *Romans* having such Tumultuous Innovations always before their Eyes, were forc'd oftentimes to shew great Indulgence towards the Common People, easing the Debtors from the Rigour and Exaction of their Creditors, by a defalcation sometimes of a fourth, and sometimes of a Third Part of their Original or Principal Debts.

In the Reign of *Trajan*, (at which time the *Roman* Empire was at its fullest Growth) a poor Man was defin'd by the Laws, to be such an one whose Total Substance was under the value of Fifty *Aurei*, or Nobles: From whence we gather, that there was a kind of distinction with them betwixt *Pauperes* and *Mendecos*: Those of the former Denomination, or the Poor, were of a large Comprehension, as containing within their number, such as were low and decay'd in Fortune, as well

well as those who sought their Livelihood by begging in the High-Ways, and creeping from Door to Door : The latter sort were purely Beggars, and were to be lookt upon therefore as in the lowest Rank of Humane Fortune : With Analogy to this it is, that the state of a Freeman with us is accounted to be one whose Patrimony amounts to Forty Shillings of yearly Rent, and for those who have less, they are to be registred amongst the Poor, and to be exempted from Tribute and Duty, as being in reality Poor, tho not all alike.

Another Question likewise there is, which I shall briefly touch upon, as having some affinity with the Subject upon which I am now discoursing, and it is this, *viz. Whether one who is born nobly (or in the Ancient Stile, of an ingenious and Genteel Family) does forfeit the Priviledges of his Birth and Ancestors, and become ignoble by being poor ?* They who hold the Affirmative, build upon this Foundation, to wit, That in Ancient Times the Emperors and (in imitation of them) other Princes were wont to reward the Services of their Vassals or Subjects, by bestowing Lands upon them, and upon their Heirs and Successors for ever, as a peculiar Mark of their good Esteem and Grace. These Lands so distributed were called *Fen-da*, or Fee-Farms, as being under some small Obligation of Chief-Rent or Duty to the Prince of whose Bounty they were held, and who in all Ages and Countrys was ever esteem'd to be the Fountain of Honour : Now if such

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Priviledges of Bloud be annext to the Feudal Possession, as Testimonials of the Princes Favour, the Fee once lost or sold, the Vassal has nothing to shew in evidence for his Honour which he deriv'd by his Ancestors from the Bounty of the Prince or Emperour. And upon this account it is, that the Titles of Counts and Barons are annext so frequently in *Germany* and elsewhere, to certain Castles and Mannors: So that whosoever does purchase such a Castle, does *ipso facto* become a Count or Baron. Something like to those Feudal Rewards we read amongst the *Turks*, who farm out or lett to their Officers and Soldiers of Horse the Lands of Countrys conquer'd, distributing such Lands into Portions, much resembling our Farms, all which are held of the Grand Seignior at Pleasure, or for Life; which *Timariots* are oblig'd hereby to attend upon that Emperor in his Wars.

Notwithstanding this, 'Tis much more evident, That the Feudal Possessions or Lands heretofore bestow'd by the Christian Emperors upon their Soldiers and Attendants, were not conferr'd upon them as Marks of Dignity and Honour, but by way of Stipend, thereby binding them to follow such Princes in their Expeditions, as it is at this day practis'd by the *Turks*, I say, in reference to their *Timariot* Horse: From whence it follows, That as Men were not enobled by such Fee-Farms, so neither were they degraded from the Range in which they were born by the want of them:

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It being utterly repugnant to Reason, and contrary to the Opinion of all wise and learned Men, That a Person should be more or less honourable and praise-worthy, from the number of his Acres or Baggs, which are the scatterings of blind and un-discerning Fortune, and which fall indifferently upon the Good and Bad, and many times are not in the power of the best Men to acquire or preserve; Nay rather, such Blessings are frequently contemn'd by them: But in case a Gentleman be reduc'd to Poverty by his own Prodigal Courses, or by his infamous and idle life, there is no reason he should have a place amongst those of his own Birth and Quality; since hereby his Blood and Honour may as well be stain'd, as by his making profession of any servile Handicraft: For all Mechanick Arts have been ever accounted to be servile and base, forasmuch as the Professors of them, like Horses and Beasts of Drudgery, acquire their Livelihood by the Sweat and Labour of their Bodies.

No less base or ignoble are they accounted in the Civil Law, who follow any nasty or fordid Trade, as Butchers, Tanners, Chandlers, Hatters, Curriers, Cordwainers, Cobblers, &c. And above all, They have been ever lookt upon as vile to the utmost degree, who gain their Livelihood by irreputable and scandalous Professions; such as Hangmen, Pimps, Travellers with Raree-Shews, Tumblers, Players, Rope-Dancers, Common Fiddlers, Vintners,

ners, Alehouse-keepers, and the like ; so that if a Gentleman once makes a practice of these Arts, tho he acquire never so great Riches by them, he is utterly degraded from his Post of Honour.

And yet in this degenerate Age, if a Man can but get Wealth, tho in never so vile a way, he is without more ado, esteem'd a Gentleman, especially amongst the poorer sort. A petty Shop-keeper, or Retailer shall cringe, sneak, flatter humbly, protest, swear and forswear, perhaps, to get a half-penny, and when by the studied and repeated Methods of a vile Condescension, with other Shifts and Artifices peculiar to Tradesmen, he shall get an Estate, he is reckoned amongst the Topping-Men, and may arrive possibly to the Dignity of Knighthood. So likewise may we observe every where a great number of those whom they call shrew'd or Notable Men, that is, such as have a good long Reach in bargaining, trucking, and in managing other Mens Estates and Business, who at length come to be celebrated Usurers and Purchasers of Fair Estates themselves: These, I say, are accounted Capital Gentlemen, and ought doubtless, to be advanced to Civil Offices: So that if a Man can by a Trick of Legerdemain, Juggle an Estate out of the hands of an easie Gentleman, he deserves to be taken notice of under Characters of great Respect, it being usual with the Fox (as 'tis reported) by his stinking Tricks to poyson out the Badger from his Hold, which



which with much labour he had made, and then Earth himself in the others Habitation. I have heard of a Practitioner in the Law, who tho he were not very eminent in the knowledge of it, became exceeding rich by puzzling and entangling the Titles of his Clients, and then buying their Estates: And such truly is the Method of subtle, Time-serving Knaves; whilst many an honest, poor Gentleman lies under fatal Necessities, either from the Extravagances, Number and Education of, or Provisions for his Children, or by the Incumbrances upon his Estate, or by the heavy expence of a tedious, vexatious and disastrous Suit at Law, or perhaps he suffers purely for a good Conscience in his constant adherence to the Rights of his lawful but unfortunate Prince, as we have seen too many Examples of this Nature within our own Memory.

Let us come now to the Poor, who by the Laws of our Land are declared Poor, and for whom they have made so good Provision, especially in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and particularly that Act *for the Relief of the Poor by a Parish Rate or Assessment*, was a very charitable Design, preventing the indigent and needy from wandering about the World, expos'd to Misery and Famine; the many other provisionary Acts likewise, as of binding poor Children Apprentices, of setting up Work-houses, or Houses of Correction, of punishing Vagabonds, and the like, were supplementally  
made

made to promote the General Design of relieving the Necessities of Human Nature: But so it is, that notwithstanding all these provisions, the Necessities of the Poor are as great as ever, and the Parishes themselves, to which such Poor belong, are at a more than ordinary Charge for want of a true Care and prudent Management of a Work of this Importance. When any poor Persons, or pretending to be Poor, shall think of seeking Relief from a Parish, away they Post him to the next Justice of the Peace, who easily mov'd with their Importunities and Complaints, or the intercession possibly of Friends, too easily and frequently grants his Order to the Overseers of the Parish, for the Relief of such a pretended poor Person, without enquiring into Circumstances. 'Twere much more equitable, if the Justice, at such time as the Overseers bring their Books to them to be Signed, would take their measures from the Parishioners or Officers themselves, who certainly must be best acquainted with the Necessities and Course of Life of such as pretend to be in Want, and by this Means, many idle Bodies who have wasted their Fortunes, and are still fit for labour, would be made to work, towards the support of themselves and Families.

I hold it likewise very expedient, that in Corporations and Market Towns, No Mercers, Victualers, Bakers, *cum aliis ejusdem furfuris*, be suffered to execute this Charge: It being too well known, that such Chapmen

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make their own Markets and Advantage thereby, in obliging the Poor to take their Dues for the purpose in Bread or Ale, at their pinching Measures; whereas, did they distribute their Alms in Money, such poor Men or Women could manage, and lay it out with more Frugality and Profit for such things as they should most stand in need of; so that 6 *d.* or 8 *d.* will procure a Peck of Mault sometimes, and be a Provision many days, which when taken out in Ale will be consum'd easily at a sitting. So likewise may we observe of Mercers and such petty Merchants, that they will put of their worst Commodities, whether Linnen, Woollen, or other little Necessaries, and herewith furnish the Poor out of the Parish Stock, and at such Rates as they think fit: In which case the Poor People receive double Dammage, not only in being forced many times to be sur-charg'd with that, which perhaps they have no great need of; but being ignorant likewise of the Quality and Value of such stale, half-rotten Ware, they dare not make their Terms with Men who have the Power of their Purse, but must submit themselves to the Conscience and Honesty of a Shop-keeper's Word, which, upon my word too, will many times ply and enlarge it self, not to the Necessity of the Buyer, but to the Interest of the Seller. The Persons who are the greatest Objects of Charity, are young Orphans, or the super-numerary Children of Poor People or Labourers



as likewise expos'd Children, sick and maim'd People, and such as are broken with Age, or such as are reduc'd to Want by the Accidents of Fortune, and perhaps, are asham'd to expose their Misery, as having liv'd sometimes possibly, in some Credit and Fashion.

There are another sort of Poor likewise, which ought truly to be provided for: I mean our lusty, sturdy, vagrant Beggars of both Sexes: These rambling from House to House are constant Retainers to all lousie Inns and Ale-houses, and are the best Informers that Highway-men and Burglars can rely upon, and many times pick a Pocket, break a House, steal a Horse, and cut a Throat with as much dexterity as the best Professors of these Arts. They colour their Rogueries under the Disguise of Tinkers, Crale-Carriers, Ragmen, Inkle or Starch-Sellers, Net-weavers, Travellers, &c. For whom our Laws, 'tis true, have made some small Provision, but for want of a just distribution, such pilfiring Vagabonds are found to swarm every where. It would be much better, if an old Law of *Valentinian* the Emperour were reviv'd; by which, Every such Vagabond as was able to work, became Prize to the next Freeman which met him, and was enroll'd amongst his Servants or Slaves to Till his Ground during life, to the end he might not cheat others by his Impostures and pretended Beggary. Such a Law as this would be of more advantage to this Nation than any possibly now extant, there

there being no place left for Remifness, Affection or Partiality; for if one fhould fuffer fuch an Errant-Merchant to go free, another would not fail to apprehend him, and where a Man's own Private Interest is a Law, it can never happen that fuch a Law fhould want its due Execution.

Under this Head likewise we may reduce thofe whom we commonly call *Egyptians*, or Fortune-Tellers. They are called *Egyptians*, I fuppofe from their dark, tawny Complexion, or from their pretended knowledge of the Heavens, and their Deftinies. In Foreign Parts they are called *Zingars*, which Name founds as tho it were of a *Tartar* Extraction. Thefe People; like the *Tartars*, always profefling a wandering Life: Tho by the Vulgar they are called *Gypfies*, a *Gypfo*, from that footy Wafh or Paint with which they ftain their Hands and Faces. Thefe impudent Vagabonds have for a long time rambled over all parts of *Chriftendome*, and as for thofe of this Tribe in *England*, they are generally *Broom-makers*, *Sweep-Chimneys* and the like, and chiefly fuch as inhabite the Borough of *Southwark*, who in the Summer-time, for want of Employment, wander about the Country, having their King over them, who commonly is fome Broken-Merchant, or well-experienced Pick-Pocket: But this kind of Vermin or Infefts does not fwarm fo much now-a-days, as in former Ages.

To return therefore to fuch as are truly poor, 'Tis certainly a very good work, affl

very acceptable to Almighty God, to relieve their Necessities; but 'tis without Dispute, a better Work to prevent Men from falling into Poverty; For Poverty in it self is a kind of Curse, and is attended with Misery: He who repairs a broken House deserves doubtless a good Reward, but he deserves better from the hands of the Lord thereof, who frames such a Building as shall never fall into decay. The *Dutch* in this particular are well worthy our Imitation, for by building Publick Work-houses, whether of Correction, or for the Education and Employment of Children, they make the corrupt and excrementitious parts of the Body Politick, as I may call them, to contribute to their own support, as well as to that of the Government. Little Children which are either poor or expos'd are committed to Publick Work-houses, as to Cloisters or Colledges, and their tender Fingers are taught to work before they can well use their Tongues, and being thus inur'd from their Infancy their Hands are much more ready and nimble, whilst Labour and Industry grows up and augments with their Nature: Even the Blind, the Lame, and the like, have Works to be employ'd about: For a blind Man may use his Arms in turning of Wheels or Grinding; and he that is lame in his Legs may follow such Work as consists with sitting, as sewing, knitting, weaving, and the like; as he likewise who is maim'd in his Arms may be able to get his Living by the use of his Feet:



Feet: And let not such impotent People lie bawling in the Open Streets, as they do continually in the Capital City of this Kingdom; many of which Beggars get more Money, and fare better than others by their honest Labour and Industry.

As for lesser Criminals, as Pick-Pockets, Petty-Larceny, Pimps, Common-Whores, Sheep-Stealers, Coney-Catchers, Hedge-breakers, and other the like Offenders, whose Crimes deserve not Death, 'twere very good they were condemn'd to *Bridewel* for a Year or two, or more, as the Nature and Circumstances of their Crimes do require: For by this means they would be made profitable to the Commonwealth, whereas Whipping or Frizzing them a little in the Fist, is a Punishment of no great Pain, and of a short continuance; and such cauteriz'd or Case-hardned Rogues as soon as out of Jail are but the more confirm'd in their former Practices. Some few indeed are secur'd to Transportation: 'Tis pity but there were more of them made to travel the same Road; tho the best way, I say, would be to keep them to work in Houses of Correction, since we have not Gallies, as in other Countrys, wherein to bestow such useless Lumber.

And here I cannot but think our Laws a little too merciful likewise, in punishing Robbers on the High-way and Murderers: For what by the Intercession which is made commonly for the pardoning such Offenders,

(which indeed is no defect of the Law) and what by the Contempt which a more obdurate Felon has of hanging, so it is; that such kind of Villains are always numerous. Breaking upon the Wheel has been found in other Countries to be the best Expedient to diminish the number of Malefactors. 'Tis true, this sort of Punishment carries the face of Cruelty in respect of him who suffers, where a Man's Bones are broken to pieces, and his Nerves and Sinews beaten to a Pulp, which must needs be very dolorous; and to continue so for twenty four hours or more perhaps, must needs be very grievous to him who suffers, and fearful to the Spectators. But after all, it must be granted too, that this sort of Punishment is a kind of Mercy to others of Mankind, when by seeing such tortur'd Wretches they are reclaim'd from their wicked Courses by these Examples of Horror; whereas otherwise they would be in the like danger of coming to a Fatal End. Hence it is, that since *Breaking on the Wheel* has been practis'd in *France*, there has not been the Tenth Part of the Robberies committed, as before; whereas under the gentler Dispensation of Hanging, few are mov'd by the Complaints of the Malefactor, who ends his life in a compendious way, and probably in less pain than many who die a Natural Death. The End of Punishment is not Expiation; it may be satisfactory to the Law, there may be Confession likewise, and possibly Restitution

tution ; but 'tis the Mercy only of God through the Merits of Christ Jesus, which must assist the Guilty. The end therefore of Punishment is for prevention of the like Offences and Amendment, which in Capital Cases can never have place in the Offendor ; it must be therefore *in terrorem*, in regard of others, *ne & ipsi veniant in eundem locum tormentorum* ; that by their wicked actions *they may not come into the same place of Torment* ; which End, if it cannot be obtain'd by one Method of Punishment, Religion and Justice do advise the Magistrate (who is to have regard to the generality of Men) to have recourse to one which is more severe, that others may be brought off from the like Precipice and Destruction, as we see they are most effectually by such rigorous Examples of Justice, or (to speak more truly) rather of Mercy.

The Charities of *Rome* make a Noise in the World, and if they be not perform'd *with sound of Trumpet*, certain it is, that they are Pompous and full of Ostentation. Many of their Methods are most worthy our Imitation, tho in general it must be said too, that at first sight nothing less appears than Charity ; such is the number of Nasty Beggars, of maimed and sick People, and of Idle Vagabonds. Where they lodge a Nights God only knows, and perhaps the Pope, but certain it is, that the Streets and Piazza's are full of them all the day ; whether it be that the Report of the *Roman Charities* does draw Beggars from eve-



ry Quarter, or that men trusting to such Relief do neglect an honest and laborious course of Life; or that the Genius of the *Italians* inclining them to Laziness, whilst the Gabels and Taxes they live under do reduce them to an humble State of Life; or that the Charities themselves be distributed in such a frugal and stinted manner, as shall only serve to keep Men Needy, and in a condition of craving Alms; whether, I say, upon any, or perhaps upon all these Considerations, it so happens, this is certain, that there are vast numbers of such half-starv'd Wretches ready every where to perish. The like also may be observ'd all along the Country betwixt *Rome* and *Naples*, which naturally is one of the most fertile Spots in the whole World, and yet the poorest and most beggarly in its Inhabitants. And as for *Rome*, I believe his Holiness would be Author of as great a Charity as any that City can pretend to, if he would convert some Religious Houses into Houses of Correction, and there employ some of the many idle Merchants that place is infested with, in making some profitable Manufacture, which, as 'twould be of great advantage to the Apostolick *Comera*, or Treasury, and bring that City into some form of Trade, so would it be found most acceptable to God, to whom nothing is more odious than Idleness, the Nurſe of all Vices, and nothing can be more acceptable to him, than to see men taught to live in an honest, laborious course of life, and so to be delivered from that Train of Vices

Vices and Calamities of Poverty which attend always Men of base Condition and Fortune, once abandon'd to Ease ; and consequently nothing could be more beneficial to Men than to be translated from such Miseries into a State of Credit and Plenty.

But leaving these Foreign Objects, and to come to the Poor of our Country Parishes, upon whose Account I now write, 'twere best worthy the Consideration of the Justices and Parish-Officers, to ease the Husbandman in Years of great Plenty ; for then it is that half the Money will buy the Poor as much Bread as they spent in other Years ; and then likewise 'tis that the Husbandman, perhaps, cannot make half so much of his Grain as in Years of greater Scarcity, being forc'd to give greatest Wages in Times of greatest Plenty, as hath been observ'd before. Hence likewise it is, that as in Years of Plenty, so in Countries also of Plenty, there are most Beggars ; for few will trouble themselves to eat their Bread in the Sweat of their Brows, which they may feed on with Ease and for Nothing. In these Years and Places therefore of Plenty 'tis that more than ordinary Care should be taken to set the Wanderer to work, and to lay up in store for the Impotent and Needy, and to restrain and punish all Merchants-errant, who under shew of carrying Crales or Packs at their Backs lie pilfering and sharking every where, to the great Annoyance of all honest Housekeepers.

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Let this Point then be the Centre of all that can be said of the Poor, or of Works of Charity, viz. Publick Colleges or Work-Houses; and here let the scatter'd Currents of Charities meet, were there but Publick Spirits either to contribute to, or with a little Pains and Honesty to oversee such a Pious Design, Villany would soon be impracticable, the Number of the Poor diminished, and such as remain would be well provided for. The Parish Taxations likewise would be eas'd, the Manufactures of the Nation would be advanc'd, and Foreign Importations would be lessened. The Profits arising from the Labour of sturdy Vagabonds, of lazy, faithless Servants, and of lesser Criminals, would maintain the Orphans, and educate them in Methods of Industry; and if the Felons and other Rogues, with which the Goals are replenish'd, were oblig'd to Labour, during their Confinement, it would be a great Ease to the County, and to such Felons themselves too, by preserving them from being instructed in farther Rogueries, and from being idle, and talking only with their Fellow-Prisoners of former Pranks: So that once in a Goal, and a Rogue ever after.

Out of this Bank or Stock of the Work-House might Money be lent *gratis*, or without Usury, to poor Tradesmen or Husbandmen, to set them up with, or to relieve the Losses and Misfortuens of others, provided they should give good Security for the Capital; or if detain'd



tain'd longer than half a Year, to pay Interest for the same. Out of this Fund likewise might some Provisions be made for binding of Apprentices, for marrying poor Girls, and for the Repair of Hedges, High-ways, and the like. If there were Colleges and Hospitals likewise for the Reception and Breeding up of expos'd Infants, as is practis'd in *Rome* and elsewhere, there to be train'd up to Labour and to Vertue, it would prevent many a Murder of such shiftless Innocents; nor should we see such a Number of little Brats carried at the Backs of Beggar-Women from Door to Door, which, when a little grown up, run begging about the World, till coming to Years of Ripeness, or rather of Rottenness, they ingender the like beggarly Spawn or Fry, and so on to the end of the World. Such a Provision for Bastards, as I am now speaking of, would not be an Encouragement for People to encrease their Number, since their Parents should be oblig'd to labour in such Publick Houses till the Children were able to get their own Livings. This would be a greater Punishment than that of binding one Parent only in a Pecuniary Caution to Indemnify the Parish, which thing as yet is rarely executed; whereas Four or Five Years Labour in Publick Houses would be a great Ease and Security to the Parish; and the Disgrace, and Laborious Employments of such Places would deter Men and Women more from their wicked Courses than any Amercement whatsoever.

And

And as for our Parish-Children, as we call them, such as Orphans, Bastards, and the like, they are commonly entrusted by the Overseers of the Poor to some idle Housewife, who does just keep them alive, and teach them perhaps a little to read, and to run a leasing and loitering in the Streets, and there learn Roguery, till the Eighth or Ninth Year of their Age; whereas, were they committed to such Publick Colleges or Houses, before spoken of, and being under the Care of honest, experienc'd, and industrious Overseers, they would soon be taught to earn their Bread, and be out of all Danger of being corrupted by Idleness and Ill Example.

I know a Gentleman who once design'd to bequeath his Estate to a Corporation in trust, and to be employ'd for the Erection of a Publick Work-house, and afterwards for laying in a Fund or Stock for employing Whores and Rogues, the Profits whereof (some Consideration being had to the Governours and Overseers of such a Work) to be employ'd for the Uses above-mentioned, the Scheme whereof I shall not trouble my Reader. But so it was, that he was soon after inclin'd to revoke his Charitable Design, when he consider'd the Business, or rather the sacrilegious Disposition of some Bodies or Societies: There being too many deplorable Examples before our Eyes of those who within their own Doors are most sordid and Niggard-like, but do not scruple to spend such Charitable Stocks, or the Bread  
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of poor Orphans, I may say truly the Blood of Jesus Christ, in making riotous Feasts and Entertainments, and in impertinent and scandalous drinking of Healths, or perhaps in private Purloinings. And that this is not a passionate Invective, but a serious, tho' deplorable Truth, would be but too legible, were there an impartial Inspection made into some Chamber-Accounts: For the Redress whereof we do not find any due Care taken. Charities therefore of this kind, ought, upon mature Consideration, to be entrusted with such; for tho' there be some honest Men to Day who rule the Roast, to Morrow there may be those of another Kidney: So that upon all Publick Occasions and Expence, Charitable Uses generally must bear the Burthen.

The Mounts or Banks of Piety, such as they have in *Rome*, and elsewhere, are excellent Provisions: For out of these and such-like Funds, young expos'd Children are bred up and provided for; Fortunes are given to dispose of them in the World, Moneys lent without Interest, and many other Publick Works carried on: But, as I said before, a competent Number of *Bridewells*, or Working-houses, would be of as great or greater Use, which yet they want. They send them indeed to the Gallies, but that is not a Method so advantageous.

And as for our selves here in *England*, the best Trustees for such Publick and Charitable Designs would be the Justices of Peace in a County,



County, provided there were Choice of such as are of Integrity and of a Publick Spirit: For these generally being Gentlemen of some Fortune, would not so easily be tempted by sordid Ends; nor could they conveniently do it were they so dispos'd, their Concerns being independent on one another, and all things being expos'd to the View of the World in an Open Court: Were they therefore enabled by Act of Parliament to purchase Ground and build Work-houses in Corporations and Market-Towns, a Reservation being made in City-Chartres for such a Liberty; and if there were Visitors or Judges appointed by the Government, every Three Years, to inspect the Mis-carriages of such Justices, and to strengthen such Pious Designs with all due Provisions, as from time to time should become expedient, I doubt not but it would be the best Work that ever was undertaken, whether we consider the Glory of God, the Good and Wealth of the Nation in general, the Prevention of infinite Disorders, and the Relief of Thousands, who otherwise would perish, Soul and Body. And that upon a due Execution of such wholesome Provisions, 'tis no way to be doubted but such vast Numbers of well-inclin'd Persons would daily be invited to bestow bountifully in their Life-time, and at their Deaths bequeath ample Legacies, to promote Works of so great Benefit and Piety.

But before I shall proceed farther in this Argument, I shall, with my Reader's Leave, make  
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some Remarks which I have ever look'd upon to have a considerable Influence in Increasing the Number of our Poor, which, if not prudently remedied, will make way for farther Distempers, and the Danger still is greater; forasmuch as the Things I am now to speak of are not really Vices in themselves, but on the contrary are esteem'd generally as very considerable, and such by which Men seem to purchase a kind of Esteem and Honour amongst the Generality of Men: Of which

The First is our Extravagance and Luxury in Apparel. All Ages and Nations of the World have ever had Regard to this Particular, esteeming a fantastick and variable Dress to be the greatest Index of Levity in the Mind, and a very superfluous Expence. The *Jews* of old constantly kept to one kind of Habit, as did also the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The like also we may observe at this Day, and from Time Immemorial amongst all the vast Empires of the East, the *Turkish* Dominions, as also throughout all *Africa*, and the greatest Kingdoms of the North; in all which Places every Nation has kept constantly to its own Habit, being such as was most convenient for their Bodies, and most suitable to the Air and Climate in which they lived: And even in *Europe*, besides the *Polanders* and *Muscovites* who stick fast to their Ancient Fashions, the *Spaniards*, who are a very great People, are very regular in this Particular; so that their Sobriety heerein must be look'd upon as a great Help

Help to keep up the Gravity and Grandeur of a Nation which otherwise would fall into a lower degree of Poverty than that under which they now lie, should they indulge themselves in the Vanity of new Modes; such Expences being utterly inconsistent with Men abandon'd generally to Ease and Wantonness.

Nay, that Nation from whom we borrow all our foppish and fantastick Garbs, observe some sort of a *Decorum* in this Matter: For all their Students in the Law, their Advocates and Notaries, wear short Cloaks, with wide Breeches, and short-skirted Doublets, of black Cloth, with little Bands. Their Physicians likewise, and generally the Burghesses of better note, wear the like modest Habit. But with us in *England*, all from Prince Prettyman to Tom Thimble are *Messires Alamode*: So that in this Sense we may be truly said to overcome the *French*. It is a common Saying amongst our Fopling Gallants, That 'tis very ridiculous for a Man or Woman to be known by their Cloaths; and so say I too, being of the Opinion, That a Person is better known by Changeable and Party-colour'd Cloaths than by a plain, modest Dress; this being the Habit of sober Persons, which few are capable to understand, but the other is that which all gaze at, being the Livery of Changelings and Fools. The various Fancies and Fashions which Men and Women so highly value, is a thing certainly most vain and ridiculous; so

that



that were a Nobleman to furnish his Gallery with Pictures, I think he could not hit upon a Fancy more to his Diversion than to have some quarter of it furnish'd with Paintings representing all the Fashions of both Sexes which have been worn by us within these Forty Years, that is to say; from the Downfal of Ruffs to the Up-rising of Commodes; all which are so various and unlike, that were a grave, sober *Turk* to view them, he would conclude that they were the Modes of all Nations of the Earth, both past and present; and so great a Value as we our selves had once for them, we must now laugh at them as very Antick, and more Comical than all the *Scaramouchio's* and *Harlequin's* in the World, and by consequence we must condemn our selves as guilty of extreme Levity and Folly.

The true Use of Raiment is to cover our Nakedness, and to defend our Bodies from the Injuries of the Season: Now certain 'tis, that he who has but one or two Suits of Apparel, whole and clean, well fitted to his Body, is as well or better provided than he who has six or seven in his Wardrobe, where the frequent Change many times proves injurious to Health, and before he has half worn out one Suit, the rest must be laid aside and given to a Train of lubbarly Waiting-Men, upon the Assurance Mr. Taylor gives us, upon his honest Word, that 'tis out of Fashion; and then my Gallant must flutter abroad again, Top-and-top-Gallant, in his new Mode, with

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a dainty hard Name: By which means many Gentlemen, especially the younger Sons, or those of smaller Fortunes, who still are ambitious to appear abroad equipp'd like Gentlemen, forsooth, are reduc'd to the utmost Extremity; till, in fine, Master-Taylor, from taking Measure of my Spark's Body, comes at last perhaps to take the Measure of his Estate, or it may be provides him with a Tenement for Term of Life, which he cannot easily run out of.

Then for the Richness or Gaudery of Apparel, this ought to be taken notice of as much as the Vanity of supernumerous Habits. 'Tis pleasant to observe what Difference there is many times in the Air and Deportment of the same Person dress'd in common Apparel, and at other Times when new-rigg'd out. The Peacock, when he has his Train about him, how proudly does he strut, and display his Glories in the Sun! but when he is stripp'd of his glittering Plumes, how meanly does he run, like a common Fowl, and seek to hide himself in the Hedges! 'Tis no new thing for People to pay Respect to the Man who wears the Gold Ring and Rich Apparel; and truly if they do it not, the Man will put them in mind of it himself: For he who Yesterday went trudging along the Streets like a Corn-cutter, to Day holds his Crest on high, and walks slow and stately, and with the Magisterial Mien of a Spaniard. He scarce vouchsafes to Look towards an humble Inferior, as he thinks

and if saluted, he returns the Civility by an Offer only to touch the Brim of his shining Castor, or perhaps with a Nod. Now, if we consider the Matter rightly, the true Ground upon which such a Grandee expects more Regards than formerly, is not from any self-consciousness of his own Merit, but purely upon the score of his Apparel; so that the honour (if any) is really due to the Sheep which bore the finest Wooll out of which his Cloth was made, or to the Insect or Worm which gave the Silk to make his glossy Ribbons; so that 'tis not the Man, but the Beast, all the while, which is the Object of our Admiration.

The greatest and wisest Princes of the Earth, how vain and pompous soever they have been in setting out their Grandeur, ever affected a Modesty in Apparel, especially in their usual and ordinary Entertainments, leaving their Gold Laces, and glittering Colours to their Pages and Footmen.

In fine, The words of the Son of *Sirach* are most worthy our Remembrance, when he tells us (*cap. 19. Eccles.*) *A mans Attire, excessive Laughter and Gate shew what he is.*

Another thing which I shall take notice of as very destructive to our *English* Gentry, reducing many of them to Beggary and Misery, is their ill Education, which in truth, reflects more upon the Parents than upon the Children: For whilst the Heir sweeps away the Estate, the younger Brothers (upon the death



of their Parents) being never settled in a Calling, nor inur'd to Labour, become wretchedly shiftless. 'Tis true, some there are who are apprentic'd out, and some few others there are who follow Divinity, or rather the Preferments of the Church, especially since the Tub-preachers have been remov'd : But still there remains a vast Number of them who have no other Calling but that of haunting Taverns, Play-houses, Gaming-houses, &c. or of following and bawling after a Pack of Dogs, or of sharking from House to House, which, after the modish Word, they call visiting of Friends.

The *French* Gentry, 'tis true, do not much affect to place their Children to Trades, or to make any Alliance with the Shop ; but then they have other ways to dispose of their superfluous Suckers : For besides their Preferments of the Clergy, which far surpasses ours, and which are in a manner engross'd by the Nobility or Gentry, they have an infinite number of Monasteries likewise, wherein they bestow or barrel up the Overplus of their Families ; which Monasteries are safe and reputable Places also for their less useful Members to retreat in, having been disgrac'd by Fortune, or such as otherways are burthensome, and dispos'd to live a contemplative and retir'd Life. But besides these they have other Places too wherein to bestow their Members, I mean their Garrisons and Armies ; and truly, were it not for such Issues of War, a Country

so luxuriant as *France* is, would soon fall into fatal Distempers by the Redundency of its own peccant Humour: So that the present Greatness of that Kingdom is not to be ascrib'd to the Temper and Dispositions of the People, (who generally are as light, extravagant, and unconstant as any Nation whatsoever,) but to the Maxims of their two great Cardinal Ministers, and above all to the vast Prospect and Genius of the present Monarch. And yet after all their Politick Methods of bestowing their Leisure-Gentlemen, there are vast Numbers of them swarming in all Towns; some of which live an easie, supine Life; others by Tennis, Gaming, Rooking, and Cullyng, which some call living by their Wits; and 'twere very well if they were made also to live by their Hands, by serving an Apprenticeship in the Gallies, as many of them do effectually. However, I do not take the great Appearance these Men make in their Towns and Cities to be an Argument of their more exceeding Number: For should our *English* Gentry, like the *French*, quit the Country for the softer Life of the Town, I doubt not but that they would make as great a Shew to the full.

'Tis true, we of this Nation are at present falling into the like Methods with *France*: For as long as the War lasts, we are not likely to want Utterance for our Dreggs, nor truly of running into our former Excesses by our wasteful Profusion of Money; so that we are or

may be out of all danger of dying by a Plethory. And yet let the Sword take off as many as it pleases, there are a great many more who go the back way off the Stage by the Goal, the Pox, and the Gallows. The pilfering, stinging Wasps, the buzzing Flies, and the gawdy Butterflies, are all of them a dronish and lazy kind of Insects which are ingender'd of Corruption, by the Warmth of the Sun, and fly from Place to Place, corrupting and tainting all they feed upon, but withal they are but short-liv'd; and if there are any of the Brood I am now speaking of, who survive or escape a more compendious Destiny, they live but a preminary kind of Life amongst their Friends and Acquaintance, and at the best end their Days in an Hospital.

The *Dutch* (following the Biass of all Commonwealths) have little Esteem of Nobility. In this however they are most worthy our Imitation, in that they make little difference betwixt Noble and Ignoble, as to their Course of Life, thinking all oblig'd to make Profession of some Calling, by which they may be serviceable to the Publick and to themselves too. For some Members to lie always idle, whilst others labour perpetually for the Preservation of them and of the Body too, is a thing very monstrous in Nature, and will soon fill the Parts which want Motion with Indispositions and Tumours, and draw on a Dissolution of the Whole: Whereas the Industrious Man by augmenting his private Patrimony in some



fort or other of a Calling, has the means of Living in his own Hands, and knows how to begin anew in the World when Fortune shall reduce him to any Extremity.

And altho' a Gentleman does not make some Mechanick Art to be his Profession, there is no Absurdity for him to make it his Recreation, as well to divert his Spirits sometimes, and keep him out of Idleness, as also to get his Livelihood by it in case he fall into Misfortune and Poverty: A thing generally practis'd by the *Ottoman* Princes, upon Pretence that they ought to live upon their own Bread which they get by such means. Nor is it one of the least Policies of the Jesuites to encourage their Missionaries hereunto, or at least to initiate such amongst them who are of a working Genius, making them to understand and practise some Handicrafts, the better possibly to disguise their Negotiations or Missions in Places where they are not allow'd of; as also to insinuate the better into all sorts of Company, and to be able to live of themselves whenever they are put to their shifts: And by such means chiefly 'tis that such Missionaries have made so great a Progress in the Eastern Parts of the World, and elsewhere.

As every Family consists of several Members under the Government of one Head, as Parent or Master; so every Family, with all its dependent Members, is but one larger Member of a greater Body, the Commonwealth. When therefore a Parent shall neglect to do his

Duty in training up his Children in a regular Course of Life and Employment, the Commonwealth, which is the grand Parent of all Inferior and Subordinate Parents, and of all their Offspring, may and ought to take care of such Members of Families as are in danger of ruining themselves, and of being troublesome to the Publick; and this they ought to do, by placing them in some Calling or other, as shall seem best to the Magistrate. And 'tis pity but such Laws were enacted amongst us, enabling him to execute a Charge of such Importance, and grounded upon so much Reason. And in case Persons of loose Lives, whether Gentle or Ungentle, should be found Refractory and Pernicious, 'twere not the worst Method to cultivate them, as we do those Trees which are Canker-eaten, from too much luxuriancy of the Soil, by pruning and lopping of their Superfluities, and then transplant them into a leaner Earth, and so make them capable of bearing Fruit. And truly our Western Plantations would very well agree with many unfruitful Plants, with which this Kingdom is over-stock'd, we having but too many of both Sexes, who by too much fatness of the Ground are over-run with the Canker, but being remov'd into another Climate would encrease and fructifie.

The Countries which are poor, but not the Poor of a Country, produce the best Soldiers, as appears by the *Switz*, and *Highlanders* of *Scotland*, and generally in all the Northern People:

People : For Poor, Vagabond Rogues are lazy, dull of Apprehension, Intractable, and uncapable of Discipline, and withal, destitute of Courage and Spirit, which is the Life and Soul of a Soldier ; when, on the other hand, such as are born under a hungry Climate, in a sharp and cold Air, like our Breed of Horses, are best for Service : They have sufficient to keep them from Want, and therefore are not broken in their Strength ; and yet are not weakened by Surfeit, and therefore fit for Labour, and in a Capacity of bettering their Condition by the Fortune of Arms : So that in an Invasive War this sort of Men are very useful ; for there 'tis the Prey only which draws them to Action, whilst they that be Rich are not only debauch'd with Ease, but care not much to hazard what they have upon uncertain Events. And yet in a Defensive War the Rich are best : For those of scanty Fortunes have nothing to lose, and therefore they will not much concern themselves which way Matters go ; whereas the Rich, having all at Stake, will push hard to defend their Interest, which if they cannot do by their own Persons, they are capable nevertheless of procuring others to fight for them, by means of their Money, as is at this Day evident in the *Dutch*, who are not very good at Conquest, or the Enlargement of their Boundaries, but are very resolute and obstinate in Defence of their own ; so that in the Main or Summ of the Matter, Commonwealths are better at keeping, and Monar-



Monarchies at enlarging their Territories; and certainly that Prince or Commonwealth is in the best Post and Circumstance for War which has Subjects of both these Capacities; I mean some which are inur'd to Hardship, and others which are Wealthy; and by this means a Prince has Money wherewith to furnish himself with Arms and Military Provisions, and Men to manage them upon all Emergencies.

And 'tis as certain too, that that People or Nation is in the best Condition of any which live under such a Prince or Government, as does not thirst after Conquest and widening of Empire, but contrives rather to preserve Subjects in Peace and Plenty: For 'tis the Peoples Purse which must bleed to carry on the Designs of an Ambitious Prince, in which if he miscarry, they who did contribute to the War, are utterly undone; and if he be successful, the People are never reimburs'd their Money, but are still miserable, by falling under one whose Appetite of Dominion is enlarg'd by Conquest, and by this means also has greater Strength to wrest future Supplies to carry on his windy Pretences, having a drawn Sword in his Hand, and being surrounded with Armies inur'd to Blood; so that they who first supported him in his popular Quarrels, and hugg'd themselves by claiming a Share in the good Fortunes which their own Money procur'd, will be found in the end to be in a vanquish'd and very miserable Condition,

tion, when they thought most of being happy. Whether the Bird be kill'd by a sudden and unavoidable Shot, or fall leisurely and smoothly into the Snares or Net of the Fowler, by listening to the sweet Modulation of his soft and fallacious Prize, is much the same to the poor Creature which becomes a Prey. Nay, rather of the two, 'tis better for Men to fall under the Hands of a Conqueror, who may challenge a just Title to their Service, than to step insensibly into Slavery by their own Sloth and Over-Credulity.

When the Inhabitants of *Himera*, a City of *Sicily*, consulted the Poet *Stesichorus* about choosing *Phalaris* for their General, he tells them this Fable: *The Horse and the Stag feeding in a Meadow, they could not well agree together; whereupon the former, being distrustful of his own Strength, to wage War with a Creature of so much Activity and Majesty, flies to the Husbandman for succour, who told him he would undertake to deliver him from his Fears were he but arm'd and mounted. The Horse, overjoy'd at the Undertaking, suffers the armed Man to bridle and saddle him, and to get upon him; inso-much that by the help of the Man upon his Back, he made the Stag quit the Coast, and began to triumph as Victor. But, on the other hand, the Husbandman finding the Horse he had mounted to be a serviceable Beast, would not suffer him to return and wanton again in the rich Meadows; but inuring him to the Bridle and Saddle, continually rid him as often as he pleas'd, laying also*

also heavy Burthens upon the Back of the poor Creature, from time to time, and at all times; insomuch that the Carrion, now spurr'd and gall'd, and almost jaded to Death by his Deliverer, wish'd a thousand times he had liv'd Neighbour-like with the Stag of which formerly he was so fondly fearful. This Story of *Stesichorus* made the Citizens reject the Help which the Tyrant *Phalaris* offer'd.

Men being uneasie under the present Government, and of seeking Relief by changing Masters, has caus'd great Revolutions in Kingdoms, and involv'd Subjects in perpetual Wars and Miseries, as is obvious from infinite Examples. I shall for the present content myself with one, and a very Remarkable one, in this our Kingdom. *Richard II.* was a Prince who suffer'd himself to be too much biaßed by evil Councils, and thereby gave great Distast to most of his Subjects; amongst whom *Henry of Bullingbrook*, a subtle Prince, and near Allied to the Crown, was more eminently offended; insomuch that crossing the Seas with a small Force, being before-hand assur'd of the Affection and Assistance of the Nobility, Gentry, and Common People, who all flock'd to him upon his Landing, as did also the Army which was levied to oppose him, he easily surpriz'd the abandon'd King, pretending at first, and swearing solemnly upon the Sacrament, that he came not over to seek the Crown, but to set the King and his People to rights, and to preserve his Own.

The



The poor, easie, or rather uneasie King, finding himself forsaken by all, was forc'd to credit his Cousin's Protestations, till resigning up himself into his Hands he became his Prisoner, and to lengthen out his unfortunate Life a little, was contented to call a Parliament, and there resigning the Crown, was afterwards murdered. No sooner was Henry IV. saluted King, but the People began to repent of what they had done, finding all Henry's Pretences of Reforming Abuses and Redressing of Grievances to be meer Sham: So that great Plots and Conspiracies were laid to dismount their Rider; after which ensued a most Bloody and Lasting Civil War, which never ended till the House of York, to whom the Crown of Right belong'd, was seated in the Throne. The Calamities ensuing upon Richard's being depos'd, are elegantly express'd by Mr. Daniel (who was a Poet of more than ordinary Depth of Thought) when he brings in that unfortunate King by a *Prosopopœia*, upbraiding England in this manner.

(1.)

*Then shalt thou find the Name of Liberty  
The Watch-word of Rebellion ever us'd,  
The idle Eccho of Uncertainty,  
Which evermore the Simple hath abus'd,  
But new-turn'd Servitude or Misery,  
The same, or rather worse, before refus'd:  
The Asper, having once clim'd to the Top,  
Cuts off the Means by which himself got up;*

(2.)

(2.)

*And with a harder Hand, and streighter Rein,  
Doth curb that Loosness he did find before ;  
Doubting th' Occasion like might seem again,  
His own Example makes him fear the more.  
Then, O Injurious Land ! what hast thou gain'd  
To aggravate thine own Afflictions Store,  
Since thou must needs obey Kings Government,  
And no Rule ever yet could all content.*

*The Summ of the whole Matter then is this,  
That 'tis much safer for a Nation to bear some  
Burdens under the present Powers than out of  
Hopes of greater Liberty, or of bettering their  
Fortunes, to fall a Prey to new Masters, who,  
like fresh Leeches, will be sure to draw hard,  
and suck out the remaining Blood and Wealth  
of those they fasten on ; which in the end  
must leave a Kingdom in a very poor and con-  
sumptive State, From which sort of Poverty  
good Lord deliver us. And so I have done  
with the Poor, of what Kind and Denomina-  
tion soever : Let us now come, in the last  
place, to consider such Inferior Officers or  
Magistrates upon whose Management the Af-  
fairs of the Country do much depend.*

C H A P.

(3)

## C H A P. XV.

*Of Justices of the Peace with other  
Inferiour Officers.*

**T**HE Office of a Justice of the Peace as it is Ancient, so is it very Reputable. They who bare this Office being appointed by the King to be *Censores Morum*, in some respect, and by reason of their great Number and Quality, as likewise of there Employments, they be allow'd to have a very considerable Influence upon the Affairs of a Kingdom. Disorders of whatsoever kind, as Riots, Frays, Profanation of the Lords-day, Swearing, Drunkenness, Frauds in Dealing, Purloinings, Hedge-breakings, Destruction of Game, unlawful Meeting of Conventicles, all unlawful Gaming, Vagabonds, Petty Factions; as also greater Offences against the Crown, as Treason, Murderers, Thefts, Burglaries, with infinite other Enormities, fall under their Cognizance; but more especially are they bound by Duty to have a strict regard to the Three foregoing Particulars, viz. Ale-houses, Masters, Servants, and the Poor: So that in matters of smaller Moment, they have the final Decision, and of all Criminal Causes whatsoever,



ever, which shall happen within these respective Limits, they have the first Examination, and by them such Offences are remitted to a further Tryal.

Now Country Gentlemen are lookt upon to be the fittest Instruments for Executing this Trust, and that upon these two Accounts: *First*, In regard of their Estates: For being (or at least as they ought to be) Gentlemen of Fortune, they are not apt to be Corrupted as other Officers whose Fortunes and Livelihood depends upon the Profit of their Office. In the next place, living in the Neighbourhood, they are more Competent Judges of Persons and Offences, and more easie to be Recours'd to for Remedies of all Disorders, then others who are strangers, and at a greater distance. But notwithstanding the good and laudable Intention of the Government there are to be found daily too too many of undue-Qualifications entrusted with the Execution of this important Charge; some there are indeed very Beneficial to the Country, and an Ornament to their Office, but whilst others are defective, the *Reformation of Manners* makes but small advance: But however stands the Case, 'tis certain, that none ought to be deputed to this Trust, but such as are duly Qualified as to these Particulars: 1st, A Competency of Knowledge; 2dly, Integrity of Life; 3dly, Courage and Resolution, and 4thly, Prudence, or a Command over his own Passions.

The

The first Qualification necessary in a Magistrate, is Competency of Understanding or Knowledge of the Laws, Statutes and Customs of the Nation in which he lives. I do not think it Necessary he should be as Learned as *Tiberian*, *Cujac* or *Sir Edward Coke*; that he should be able to penetrate all the difficult Cases which may arise betwixt Man and Man, whether in these Publick or private Relations, with all the Niceties which a Scrupulous and subtle Brain can start or invent; so on the other hand, it might reasonably be expected that he should be one of something a better Culture than to be able only to Spell his Name in a scrawling Character; long Coats may become some sorts of Creatures well enough, but to see them in long Robes or the Habiliments of Magistracy, tho' it may move the serious Spectators sometimes to merriment and laughter, yet it cannot choose but touch him with a secret dislike.

The next Qualification requisite in a Magistrate, is Integrity of Life and Manners: And this indeed is something more Commendable than the former: For Knaves there are, and too many of them who have a sufficient Stock of Understanding or rather of Learning; but to be a good Man, as it clears his Reputation from all Imputation and Craft, so it delivers him from the opprobrious Character of a Fool. A Fool 'tis true, may sometimes commit an honest Act, as a good Man may a Fault,

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by Inadvertancy and Mistake ; but he who is truly Honest and Conscientious proposes well in all his designs without Hypocrisie and private reserve, and seldom trips or makes a blunder, the Example of a Magistrate is certainly of much more force then his Orders ; For by the one he Excites and Invites, by the other he drives and Compells, which implies something of Reluctancy on his part who is Commanded : And since Men naturally are more prone to Vice, they cannot but post onwards with a full Career, when they are assisted with the Wings of Authority : For who can be ever brought to have a Detestation of Drunkenness, and of mispending his Time, when he has the Authentick Examples of Justices of the Peace before his Eyes, not only inviting them to Drinking, and making such Excess to be very Genteel and Orthodox, but Patronizing perhaps, the very Houses themselves, as the Soul and Centre of their Mirth and Refreshment, and the best Support, possibly, of their Interest.

And here I cannot but make a Cursory Remark upon what occur'd at the Time I was making these Reflections in the Neighbourhood where I live. It is of a Justice of the Peace of some Figure and Popularity, whom it pleas'd God, in the Time of his Sickness, to touch with a deep Sense of his former Wickedness, and of the Mischief he had done to others by his vicious Example ; insomuch that he sent his Circular Letters to be read publickly



lickly on *Sundays* in the Neighbouring Churches; in which Confessionary Letters he most Conscientiously owns his former Riotous Course of Living, in Swearing, Drinking, Lasciviousness, &c. as likewise the Glory he took in drawing others to Intemperance, and seeing them wallow in their own Bestiality. All which he heartily bewails, and seriously exhorts his Friends and Acquaintance to take Example by him, humbly craving their Prayers to Almighty God on his Behalf; desiring furthermore, that in case it should please God to restore him to Life, and he should relapse into his former wicked Courses, that such his Publick Recantation or Confession should be urg'd against him, to his perpetual Reproach and Intamy. Which Pious Disposition of his, as it ought in Christian Charity to be look'd upon as proceeding from God's extraordinary Mercy to him; in filling him with true Sorrow and Repentance; so there is great Hopes likewise that (notwithstanding the horrid Corruptions of the Age) the Example of such a contrite Penitent may have a good Influence upon many of those whom this Gentleman's former Conversation had corrupted and poisoned. Nor should I have been so particular in mentioning these Passages, had not the Gentleman himself desir'd to make his Confession and Sorrow as Publick as possible, for the Good and Benefit of others, as well as for the Ease of his own Soul, which God we may hope in Charity had Mercy of.

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There is another sort of Corruption to which Men in Office are often subject, *viz.* Partiality in the Administration of Justice; which proceeds sometimes from an irregular Affection, but more frequently from Bribery and Covetousness. This is an Epidemical Distemper which has reign'd in all Ages, Places, and Persons almost, and will continue to the End of the World; so that a Magistrate, many times, like the Balance, (the Symbol of his Office,) inclines to that side where most is receiv'd: So that a small quantity of Metal, if of the heaviest kind especially, will quickly turn the Scales. *Demosthenes* was a Man of great Boldness, of excellent Parts, and for a great while an uncorrupted Patriot of his Country's Liberties and Properties, no doubt; for by the Force purely of his Speeches he kept the *Athenian* Senate steady to their Interest, against all the Intrigues and Insinuations of a subtle and aspiring Prince, who, under shew of defending the Weaker against the Stronger, actually enslav'd most of the *Grecian* Republicks. But no soft, cankery Speeches of *Philip* could move *Demosthenes*; for he was as good or better at that Trade than the King. But *Alexander* his Successor took another Method. For sending *Harpalus* his Embassador to *Athens* with a vast Treasure, and Presents of inestimable Value, many of the Senate were debauch'd by these means, the chiefest of which was *Demosthenes* their Orator, upon the Wheel of whose Tongue their Government seem'd to

turn

turn: For as the Embassador was putting his Retinue and Baggage ashore, *Demosthenes* cast his Eye upon a certain Vessel, curious for the Workmanship as well as the Matter of which 'twas made; which the Orator could not forbear to admire and commend; which *Harpalus* observing, and judging by his Eye the Pulse and Bent of his Heart, sends it him secretly at Night full of Gold, the Lustre whereof could not be withstood by our Orator. But his Treason being discovered, he was brought before the *Areopogites*, and condemn'd to pay Fifty Talents, and to be sent to Prison, from whence he escap'd by Flight. The same Orator at another time was brib'd by the *Meleians*, and being call'd upon to harangue publickly against them, he entred the Senate with his Neck wrapp'd about with a great many Cloths of Flannel, pretending that he had a Quinsie or Soreness in his Throat; whereupon some made this Sarcastm, that it was not the *Angina*, or Quinsie, but the *Argentingina*, (a Word ever after us'd for Bribery,) which took away his Speech. From whence we may observe, that in the best of Times and of Governments there were some, who, pretending to be the Defenders of their Country's Liberties, turn'd Pensioners to those who would have undermined them.

Amongst the *Roman* Worthies, whose Works or Monuments are at this Day extant, there is none more eminent than *Seneca*; famous for his Excellent Books of Morality, a



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profess'd *Stoick*, or one who placed Happiness in the Exercise of Vertue, and in the Subjection of our Passions; and famous likewise for his Death which he receiv'd by the Command of *Nero*, whose Tutor sometimes he had been: And yet we find this Man of Morals to have been accus'd for Bribery, or perverting the Publick Money, (for he was *Quæstor* or Treasurer,) and that he was banished by *Claudius* for the same. And truly, if we consider the vast Treasure which he scrap'd together, and which was seiz'd upon and confiscated after his Death, (which, if some Reports be true, amounted not to much less than to a Million of our Money,) I know not how we shall preserve a due Honour for the Memory of this Great Man, unless we say, That *Seneca* the Philosopher was a very good Man, but that *Seneca* the Courtier was a suspected Person.

To pass by *Themistocles*, and others of the Ancients, who were tainted with this Contagion; we have an Example of one in our own Kingdom, who had the

The Lord Chancellor *Bacon*.

Misfortune to fall under the like Suspicion; one who was great for his Place and Figure in the Government, but much more great for his Learning, and was remov'd from his Employment upon the like Charge of Corruption: So that this great Personage seems to tell us (in an Epistle Dedicatory to Bishop *Andrews*) that his Case had in some measure a very near Resemblance to that of *Seneca*. But when we consider the

manner

manner of Life in this Excellent Writer, being wholly immers'd in Philosophical Studies, and Publishing of Books, leaving the Management of Business, for the most part, to his Under-Officers and other Domesticks, upon whose Informations he might depend, it may reasonably be imagin'd, by any Ingenious and Impartial Considerer, that many things might be carried on under his Authority which he was not privy to. However, so it happens, oftentimes, that the Master suffers in his Reputation for the Faults of his Servant; and yet the Master himself is not without Fault, but is guilty of great Imprudence and Breach of Trust, in leaving that to others which he ought in Duty to execute by himself; so that Bookish Men seldom make good Men of Business; the former sitting down in their Studies are taken up with the Pleasures of Reading and of a Contemplative Life, whilst the latter are in a perpetual Hurry and Noise, and (if Publick Ministers) importun'd with infinite Petitions, and intangled with Intrigues. Nor can there be any thing so irksome to a Man in his Closet, and amidst the innocent Refreshments of Meditation and Reading, as to have his Door still thrash'd at by multitudes of Complainants; a thing which might easily tempt a Man to remit the troublesome part of his Charge to Deputies, that he himself might pursue the more natural and pleasing part, without Disturbance and Distraction, and be knock'd on the Head, possibly, like *Archimedes*,

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*des*, in the midst of his Theorems and sandy Demonstrations.

And truly amongst those who are destin'd to the lesser Wheels of Business, 'tis not rare to find one here and there of mean Fortune, but of a meaner Spirit, who covets to be in an Office, which he manages with that Prudence, as never to want small Timber for house-keeping; some likewise there are of this Tribe, who if a Complaint be brought against an Inferior-Fellow by one of a better Degree, 'tis five to one but he shews Indulgence towards the meaner Person. This at first blush looks like Clemency and Moderation, when in reality it's his sordid Interest which tempts him to this Method: For by this means he has a Creature always at his Devotion to help him possibly in Harvest, or upon some other Occasion: Or if an Artificer, he must be always at his Beck, and work at lower Rates: Besides, a kindness shewn to an Inferior-Fellow, makes a great Noise, and is in all Mens Mouths, so that a firm Interest is by this means Coveted in all others of the same level, which is a Thing very Advantageous to make a Man Popular, especially in matters which are carried not by Weight but by Numbers; whilst one of higher Order, when he has an award, owes no Thanks, and Consequently no Service where he is oblig'd only to the Merits of his Cause, or perhaps standing near upon the same height of Ground with his Worship, he cares not much to Creep and  
sneak



Ineake at his Elbow. Tis not rare to observe likewise, how the tender-hearted Female, the good Gentlewoman of the House, has a mighty Influence upon these Matters, inclining such a Judge of differences to Compassionate the distressed: For what tender Bowels wil not yearn with pity at the lamentable Cries of a whole Pannel of Innocent and Complaining Children, especially when their Testimony shall be strengthen'd and supported with the weighty Evidence of a very Creditable, Upright, and Uncorrupted Sugar-Loaf.

Another Qualification requisite in a Magistrate, is Courage; and this, first, in respect of the Persons he is to judge betwixt: For as he ought not to favour a Poor Man in his Suit, in like manner ought he not to be afraid to Censure the Rich where there is just Cause of Complaint brought against him; so that whilst Justice is blind, as to the Quality of the Person, it ought to be Eagle-ey'd as to the Nature of the Cause. In the next place, Every good Magistrate ought to shew his Courage in Relation to the Times he lives in, that is, not to be meal-mouth'd in doing what is Just and Honest, for fear of being evil look'd upon by the higher Powers. But they certainly are most inexcusable, who, out of a timorous Nature, or out of a sordid and sneaking Compliance rather with the Fortunes of the Times, in Hopes meerly to preserve themselves in their little Station, shall refuse to Redress the

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the Injuries of One whom malicious Neighbours, and a Rabble of rioting Ruffians, out of Hopes of Plunder, shall think fit to dub a Disaffected Person. Should a Man, I say, come before such a one with a Complaint against a licentious Pack of Rogues, Mr. Justice would presently shrug up his Shoulders, cock his Eye-brows, and with a reserv'd, solemn, and forlorn Countenance, becoming the Gravity of a Funeral, desire the Complainant to forbear importuning him, till the Times were a little settled and quiet; telling him, that then he could be his Humble Servant most effectually, but that in the mean time he must have Patience. This is all one as if I were overtaken on the Road with violent, tempestuous Weather, and coming to my Friend's House to be shelter'd from the Storm, he should shut his Door upon me, saying, Sir, I am very sorry to see you in this Condition, but you must pardon me; for should I open the Door, the foul Weather would beat into my House, and I might take wet and be ill by such means; but if it please you to have a little Patience till the Storm is over, I will answer your Request, and you shall come into my House and welcome. And still would not the Case be worse, were it a Publick Inn I should fly unto for Relief, that is to say, a Place set apart and appointed by the Government for the Succour of the wayfaring and distressed Traveller? Indeed Officers of Justice are appointed and set apart for the Relief of such as are distressed, and

and what they do by way of Relief is not Charity, but Duty and Justice; and failing hereof, they ought to be suppress'd as well as those barbarous Inn-keepers who shall refuse to accommodate an honest Traveller because he is wounded, rifled, and perhaps tumbled in the dirt by Rogues and Robbers, upon Pretence, forsooth, lest his own House should be incommoded, and receive Damage by the like Insults from a Crew of desperate Villains. The Truth of it is, the way to make the Times peaceable and quiet, is, to punish Tumultuous and Riotous Disorders, and not to suffer them to run on without Controul, till the Authors of them shall of themselves think good to be civil.

But what says my Trimmer? Why this: All things are brought about by the Will and Providence of God, and therefore ought we to comply with such Dispensations. Besides, there were very great Mismanagements under former Governments. We ought not therefore to strive and tire our selves against the Tyde, lest we be choak'd or carried Head and Heels under Water; but let us do like our Neighbours, swim with the Current, and open our Arms wide upon the Waters, and the Flood will never hurt us, but carry us safe and smoothly to our Journey's end. The Case is clear. Let us e'en turn Tenants then to our new Landlord. Thus he cants in Publick, whilst he mumbles at another rate within himself, after this manner: I value neither  
this



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this nor that Form of Government farther than it suits with my Private Interest; I will stick fast to this Maxim, To be True and Faithful to the present Government; so that upon another Revolution, whatsoever (and whensoever) it be, when that's trump'd up, it becomes the present Government, and I will comply with it, and cry it up; I will not be overscrupulous to be honest, when it may endanger my Opinion with the People, by making me suspected to disaffected; I will say as they say, and look cold upon my former Friends and Acquaintance, who are out of doors, or ill thought of, whether deservedly or undeservedly, matters not much, since 'tis Popular Opinion which is the Measure of all things: This is the Test I will ever adhere to, and come on't what can come, there will be a Gracious Act of Pardon; and as soon as Success shall Canonize the Cause, I will Preach it up for a wonderful Turn of Providence, and run in with the First, and cry, *God save the King, God save the Commonwealth, God save what's Uppermost, and God save me to*: We read (2 Sam. 16.) of *Shimei a Benjamite*, or one of the same Tribe and Family with out-cast and accursed *Saul*, that when good King *David* withdrew himself from the Plots and Sword of his Treacherous Son, this wretched Miscreant ran along by his side, cursing this unfortunate Prince, palting him likewise with Stones, and casting Dust or Dirt at him, the usual Artillery of the Mob; withal insulting over his distressed and forlorn Sovereign, with  
some

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some strains of Divinity, crying as he ran along, that *it was the Lord's doing to retaliate the evil which he did to the House of Saul*, and that he himself had drawn Vengeance upon his own Head, by his own Mis-management and Tyranny: All which he yet farther Proclaim'd, or Preach'd up, before all the People, saying, *That the Lord hath delivered the Kingdom into the hand of Absalon thy Son*. But when it seem'd good to the Justice of Almighty God to baffle the Prophaners or Buffooners of his Providence, by the Restauration of the Good King; behold! *Shimei* throngs in with the first to congratulate his Happy Return; nor doth he appear like a Mean Rascal, but was attended with a brave Retinue of his own Tribe, having no less than a Thousand *Benjamites* with him (*cap. 19.*) crowding in the Head of the King's Friends, even the Men of *Judah*; for no sooner had the King cross'd the Water, but *Shimei* greets him at his landing: The Dog which formerly ran barking and snapping at him on the way, now came crowding and fawning at the Feet of injur'd Majesty, and licking the Sore which his own Teeth had made; so that his Tongue was now soupl'd and anointed with soft melting and flattering Speeches, which before was poysoned with virulent Imprecations. And the better to procure and insure his Pardon, he lays fast hold of an *Art of Oblivion*, saying, or whining rather, *Let not my Lord impute iniquity to me, neither do thou remember that which thy servant*

vant

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*want did perversly, the day that my Lord the King went out of Jerusalem, &c.* and the better still to recommend his Address, he suggests to the King the early Submission, dissembling his Relation to the House of *Saul*, by telling of a Lye, and saying, *Behold, I am come this first this day of all the house of Joseph, to go down, and meet my Lord the King*; claiming as we see, an Affinity with that Patriarch who was the most innocent, and the most persecuted of all the Sons of *Israel*, whereas in Truth, this impudent Rebel and Imposture was a *Benjamite*, a Partisan of *Saul's*, and a most inveterate Enemy of the King's : Much such an one as the Loyalists of the *Cromwellian* Order; and how well they play'd their Game, and out-ran the King's Friends upon his Return, is sufficiently known to all; such Sycophants, or rather Politick and Perfidious Villains there have been in all former Ages, and such too there will be unto the end of the World.

Whether there be any Man of this Character now bearing Office I know not : But since 'tis certain that there have been such, and most probable too that there may be such in after Ages, if what is here written shall ever happen into the hands of such an one, let him be pleas'd to know, that notwithstanding the Office which he may bears, which peradventure may procure him some little respect, like what of Old was given to the *Ass* which carried the Image of *Isis*, he is still to be lookt upon



as a thing of little Value. A Farthing, we know, whether of Brass, or of dull pliable Lead, by reason of the Royal Stamp, or Superscription it carries, may be of some small use amongst trivial Merchants, and may serve a little for a Change, but still 'tis but a Farthing; and when the Image and Characters are worn off (as soon they will be) or when the little Coin is cried down (as it happens frequently) this despicable bit of base Metal is good for nothing but to be thrown away, and trod under foot, or to be prostituted to the Sport of Children.

The last Qualification requisite in a good Magistrate is Prudence and Moderation of his Passions; so that if this be wanting, let a Man otherwise be never so well qualified, he is utterly unfit to be a Moderator of Differences. 'Twas wisely therefore said by the Heathen Poet, that *Prudence comprehended all the other Deities whatsoever, notwithstanding Fortune be that Goddess which in the Opinion of Men is most or solely ador'd.* Certain 'tis, that Prudence is a Complex of many excellent Virtues; 'tis circumspect and diligent, and *Janus-like*, looks forwards and backwards: It examines things with great Attention and application of Thought, and determines consequently upon mature Consideration: It implies Patience and a subjection of Passions, and by the steady Bent of a vigorous Mind, accompanied with the greatest sedateness of Temper it reduces all its Decisions to the Test and Mea-

Measures of Reason: Nor does it perform its Duty with a fly Squint-ey'd regard to its own private Interest, failing by every Point of the Compass (which in the Opinion of the Worthies of the Age, is called mighty Prudence) but without collateral Respect and Byass, it is guided by Truth and Honesty, as the sole Magnet which attracts, or rather the Polar Star by which it steers its Course through the greatest Depths in times of Darkness; all which require, I say, great Vigilance and Activity, and yet withal, great smoothness of Temper, of which no Man certainly can be capable who suffers himself to be hurried every way by his own violent and distracting Passions. Whilst the Body is in agitation, 'tis impossible for the Arm to hold the Ballance steady; and whilst the Eyes sparkle with Indignation and Rage, and the Man is transported with vehemence of Choler, 'tis impossible to discern the difference in Weight; so that in cases like these (which happen but too frequently) the Magistrate, whilst he pretends to judge another, is the Executioner upon himself: The Vexation and Torment which he suffers in his own Spirit being a far greater Punishment than what he might inflict upon an Offendor, besides the secret Contempt to which he is expos'd in the Eyes of all who see him, which with the Train of Absurdities thereon depending, must needs be a great aggravation to his Trouble, there being nothing so sharp and pungent to a Man

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in Office as Scorn, especially from those whom we pretend to chastise : For what can be more Comical than to see such a Judge of Grievances, who should be most compos'd in his Department, to beat the Ground with his Feet, and the Table with his Fist ; to corvet, fling and wheel like a Mad-Man ; to swear and huff, to foam, snuff and snort, half choakt for want of Breath, squeaking, and Roaring. 'Tis in a word, to see a Man, or Beast rather, baited with himself, as some Bait Dogs by tying Crackers to their Tails, which cannot but be a pleasant Divertisement to the unconcerned Spectator.

'Tis true, there are many stubborn, cross-grain'd Rogues which a Magistrate oftentimes has to deal with ; To reform these by soft Admonitions and persuaſive Methods, is all one as to polish and civilize a Wolf by reading of Moral Lectures. No, ſuch Brutes are to be tam'd by other Methods, tho the Magistrate ought ſtill to keep himſelf within the Centre circumscrib'd by Reason, which ſhould he go out of, he is in certain danger of being torn in pieces by Devils, I mean thoſe real Furies which are ever too near us in all our Walks. He who ſhall graſp a piece of burning Iron, and endeavour to faſhion it for Uſe, may himſelf peradventure, ſuffer the Punishment due to the Malefactor, in being burnt in his hand ; if therefore he would work upon the rude Lump, and make it fit for Service, he muſt

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hold it fast, and hammer it with Instruments of the same Mettle, *Beadles, Catchpoles, Gaolers, Hangmen*, with such like Engines of Humanity, are the fittest Tools in the World for a Magistrate to work with in the Reformation of an obdurate Rogue; all which, I say, may be so used and managed by him as not to endanger his own Fingers, or discompose his Thoughts.

Thus briefly have I glanc'd upon some of the Qualifications which are requisite to the Constitution of a good Magistrate: To find a Man in whom all these meet in full Perfection is a thing rare, if not impossible; however, in some inferiour degree they are indispensably requisite, and for want of these 'tis, I say, that the Nation falls into so many Disorders, whereas were Magistrates severe and conscientious in the execution of their Charge, and Exemplary in themselves, Sobriety would be in Credit, disorderly Rogues would be reduc'd; Frugality and Industry would lift Men above the Necessities of Life into a Region of Plenty: Parishes would have their Publick Charges lessened, the Poor would be employ'd, and by consequence, Husbandry would be improv'd, Trade advanc'd, and the Commonwealth grow great and flourishing; all which are such Temporal Blessings as cannot but make a Nation happy under the Blessing of Almighty God, which we cannot reasonably hope for, till Drunkenness and Profane-  
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ness be severely punish'd, and his Worship duly celebrated and honoured ; for when Men cease in the Performance of Religious Duties, they will soon degenerate from being Men.

Thus it was of old, during the State and Oeconomy of the *Jews* ; and thus it was likewise through all the Circles of the Christian Church in all its Periods and Revolutions, as was most deplorably and eminently conspicuous in the *Eastern Churches*, upon the Inundation of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and afterwards of the *Saracens*, and lastly of the *Turks*, who finally subverted that Empire, all which was usher'd in by the corrupt Lives of the Christians, as appears by the History of those Times. The like Calamities happen'd likewise in the *West*, so that rarely any Kingdom has been subverted and ruin'd, which had not first deserted God's Worship, and poysoned themselves by Debauchery, for they go together ; it being utterly impossible for a Man to be truly Religious and yet debauch'd in his Morals, as it is almost impossible for a Man to be truly Moral and Vertuous, and yet to be Irreligious. There is no Man so fit for great Undertakings, as he that is a good Christian. The Fears of Death cannot disorder him so much as others, upon the Hopes and Prospect he has of Future Rewards : Difficulties cannot dismay him who is above the Temptations of Ease and Pleasure. His Reputation and Honour being unspotted, he is receiv'd in all Places with respect

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pect, and wherever he goes, he carries along with him his Bills of Credit, which must needs facilitate his Enterprizes, and refresh his Spirits: His Dealings are without Fraud, and unsuspected, and therefore he is in a fair Post to advance his Fortunes: He has a vital Heat within himself, which gives Nature a quick and easie Circulation, and arms him with Man-like Resolutions in all Cases of Hazard and Distress, filling him with far more noble Spirits than what flow from a Bottle of Wine or Ale, which end commonly in a total Consumption of Health, Reputation, Fortune, and of all Intellectual Guests whatsoever.

Nor are the Philters of good Company, with which Men are so willingly intoxicated, of any greater Vertue: For there can be no solid Friendship in a Debauch: It does not so properly cement as bedawb mens Inclinations to one another, by a kind of Ordure or slimy Matter, which cracks or drops off upon the least shog and puff of Wind, or upon any Change of Weather, tho it may possibly keep them sticking together for a little time; and when this dirty Copulative is disbanded, some Relicks of it will still remain, by which they may be known to one another, as well as to all the World besides.

What is here written may be distastful possibly to some, but that's a Scandal taken, not given. A Horse may winch and kick a little, whilst the Hand gently rubs his gall'd Back; but still

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the fault is not in the Hand which designs a Cure, but in the corruption of the Beast; however it be, as some dislike, others may approve of the Method: And the good word of one virtuous person is of more weight and value than that of a whole Jury of par-boil'd, rattle-headed Clod-pates (tho upon their Oaths) or of any spurious and degenerate Mercenary whatsoever. And God be thank'd, notwithstanding the corruptions of the Age, there are many men in Office of publick, generous and untainted Principles, and of laudable Lives and Customs; But whilst some are defective, their ill Conduct proves fatal to others: For Men (who are naturally inclin'd to Vice) will easily copy after such Examples as suit with their own Dispositions, whilst the good, out of an innate Modesty, or out of fear belike, of offending their equals, or for being censur'd possibly, for morose, formal and puritanically affected, suffer the bad to run on in their full Career, without confronting them, or shewing any visible dislike of their loose behaviour. Let a *Salad* be compounded of never so many wholesome Herbs, one poisonous Weed, as *Hemlock* and the like, tho it be hardly discernable by the Eye, from what is good and healthful, shall embitter the whole Dish, and make it baneful. In the mean time, 'tis the duty of every Man to erect a Court within his own Breast, and there examine his Life and Actions before his own Conscience, which Almighty God has put in *Commission of the Peace* over him to direct in his Actions, and to curb his Passions and extravagant desires. S 3 The

## *The Conclusion.*

**N**OW to make a Summary of this Argument I shall humbly offer two Considerations, to which, if due Regard be had, they will very much contribute to the True Interest and Advancement of our Country-Affairs, and to the Peace and Felicity of this Kingdom.

The First relates to that great Community or Body-Representative in the Lower House of Parliament; the Members of which Senate are, as I may say, our Deputies, as being elected out of the Number of Commoners, Freeholders, and Citizens, tho' we find them many times to be dignified with Titles and Offices, and to be Considerable by their Estates.

The long Continuance of the same Parliament has been by Experience found to be of ill Consequence to the Country; for such Parliaments ripen, or rather are corrupted into Parties and lasting Factions; and the Popular and Leading Men of them being won over by Pensions and Offices, to slacken their Adherence to the Country's Interest, look upon themselves as petty Lords or Princes in the respective Places for which they pretend to serve.

Another Corruption altogether as mischievous, is the Expensive and Scandalous Procuring

curing of Voices by Drinking-Entertainments, and other Illegal Methods: Of both these I had made Enlargements, {when this Subject first enter'd into my Thoughts. But since it hath pleased the House of Commons to make some Steps towards their own Reformation, I shall not farther touch upon it, hoping that they will make themselves truly Honourable and Revereable, by making a further Progress in the Reformation of some other Matters, which, in the Opinions of honest and impartial Lovers of their Country, seem very much to obstruct its true Interest and Tranquility.

Prerogative and Privilege are the two Hinges upon which the Frame of Government does turn, which when duly fix'd, all things open and shut with ease; but when one of these Hinges is plac'd too high, or is too strong for the other, the Frame moves with Difficulty and is in danger of falling. Upon which Account it is, that aspiring and busie Persons are most pernicious to the Publick Welfare. It has been heretofore, and probably may be their Method for the future, to cry up the Liberty and Privilege of the Subject, and to declaim against Arbitrary Power, and by Popular Insinuations to draw on the Weak and Credulous to their Parties; But when once these Zealous Patriots can get a Retaining Fee from the Crown, then out Nettle in Dock; none more vehement Promoters of Prerogative (even to the utmost Stretch) than these Profelytes: Whilst such as cannot be gratified to the Extent of their



Desires (which generally are insatiable) erect their Standards of Defiance, and become most furious Incendiaries, and make their first Batteries upon Sovereignty, by pretending to reform Church-Government, and of adhering, forsooth, to the Peoples Safety both as to their Religion and Property. Nor are these Disorders incident to Popular Assemblies, but many times to the Courts of Princes; and so far as they regard the Subject before us, seem capable of a Remedy, would the Honourable the House of Commons pass a Bill, That no Person bearing Office in the Court, or receiving Pension from it, should be capable of sitting in the Lower House: And if any Person, after his Election, should accept of any Office, Imployment, and Gratuity, in Dependence on the Crown, that he should be look'd upon as Resigning his Parliamentary-Trust, and another chosen in his place. For by this means the King's Bounty in Rewarding his Subjects would not be restrain'd, nor would the King be forc'd to stoop to Factious Humours, by stopping their Mouths with Preferments, and by this means render them more imperious and craving, by which others might be encourag'd to tread the same crooked Paths also, to his great Expence and Vexation: Nor would the Subjects Jealousies be kindled against the Government, to which they will be prone, when they shall find these they did confide in to be bias'd by Dependence and Interest, and to act contrary to that Freedom and Impartiality

jity which ought to be in every true Representative of his Country.

The like also may be said of Military-Officers, such I mean as are actually in the Services of War; for War is their Trade by which they gain and make their Fortunes: No doubt therefore but such Persons will be very profuse in giving Money, of which they themselves will be sure to have so Considerable a Share.

*Rara fides Pietasque viris qui Castra sequuntur  
Venelasque Manus, ibi fas ubi Maxima Merces,*

*Æremerent paruo, &c.*

The Third sort of Persons which seem less suitable to the good Constitution of a House of Commons, are Lawyers, such I mean as make the Practice of the Law to be their Profession: For that a Member of Parliament, who is to make Laws, should be a good Lawyer himself, no Man doubts. But for those who make it their Calling, besides that they are under the same Temptations of warping, as others who are held *en Gage*; so 'tis known too, that they are generally gifted at making of Speeches, their constant Practice at the Bar rendering them bold and voluble; whilst others, perhaps of as much Judgment and Integrity, for want of use, are either abash'd to deliver themselves in Publick, or not so fluent and copious at Expression. Besides, the tedious and perplex'd Style in which Bills are usually

usually penn'd, by the many Exceptions, Proviso's, Repetitions, Amplifications, and Compasses of Words and Sentences, after the Tenure of a Conveyance, under shew of making the Sence more full and obvious, do but make it obscure and mystical, and liable to divers Stretches and Interpretations; and doubtless more Disputes and Controversies do arise, and greater picking Work there is for Lawyers, by reason of such Perplexities, than from the Original Consideration upon which they were fram'd as Remedies. The Sence and Reason of things lies in a little compass, and, like the Rays of the Sun, yields most Light the nearer it is drawn to a Point or Centre.

It has been the Opinion of a great many judicious Men, That if one half of our Parliamentary Acts were repeal'd, and if there were a Digest or an Abridgment made of the Remainder, pruning off the Suckers, and leaving what is necessary and substantial, and which might be so couch'd as might be obvious to most Capacities, 'twould be the best Work such an Honourable and August Assembly could ever undertake; For doubtless 'tis expedient for every Subject to understand the Laws by which he is to govern his Life and Actions, and not fall unadvisedly into a Snare, or have recourse to others who may make a Prey upon his Ignorance; or rack himself beyond the Port of his Capacity and Private Fortune, to purchase vast Volumes of Statutes, or

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Acts of Parliament, which may be sufficient to break the Back of a Porter and the Brains of a sober Reader.

Nor should I have presum'd to have said thus much, were I not warranted by the Authority of one of the most Judicious, the most Learned, and the most Competent Persons this Nation ever had, *viz.* my Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, in his Offer made to King *James* upon this Subject, who, after he had commended our Laws for the Matter, tells His Majesty, That they ask much Amendment for the Form, which to reduce and perfect, I hold to be one of the greatest Dowries that can be conferr'd upon this Kingdom. The same Author in the same Book tells us also, That from the Times of Augustus, downwards, there was such a Race of Wit and Authority between the Commentaries and Decisions of the Lawyers, as both Laws and Lawyers were out of breath. Whereupon Justinian, tho' a Prince of no great Capacity himself, by the Advice and Diligence of Tribonian, an excellent Lawyer, taking in other Learned Men in that Faculty, made a Body of Laws, such as might be weilded, being compil'd out of the Ancient Ruines of Books as Materials, making Novel Constitutions also of his own.

The first Emperor we read of, who did make an Attempt of this Nature, was *Theodosius II.* who caus'd a Code to be compil'd by many Judicious and Learned Persons; but so  
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it was, that his Constitutions did extend no farther than the Times of Christianity, beginning with *Constantine* the Great: Whereas *Justinian's* Body of Laws was of a larger Compass, being compil'd more especially out of the Collections or Codes of *Gregorius*, *Hermogenes*, and *Theodosius*, and so taking in all the Ancient Roman Laws.

The first who in this Island did attempt the Reducing the Laws into a Body, was King *Edgar*, by which he made himself more famous than by sailing round this Island with a Fleet, or his *Quatuor Maria Vindico*. Nor was there any thing for which *Alphonso*, the Ninth of that Name, King of *Castile*, was surnamed *the Wise*, as from his compiling a Digest of the Laws of *Spain*.

It would be very convenient if such a Draught of a Digest to be made of our Statute-Laws, were printed and perus'd by all Men; for, no doubt, there are great Numbers of understanding and unbiass'd Men, who do not sit in the Lower House; and tho' they cannot make a definitive, may make a discursive Judgment as well as any Member of Parliament; and by making their Objections, the whole Project would be winnowed and sifted thoroughly, and left to the Decree of a Parliamentary Senate, to give it the Authentick and Indelible Stamp of a Universal and Standing Law, purg'd from all Doubts which might arise from unforeseen Errors; which would

be a thing of wonderful Satisfaction to Subjects, who ought to be govern'd by such Constitutions as are fully, freely, and deliberately examin'd, and so Beneficial to all ; which would prevent so many Repeals of Statutes as we meet with every where, to the great lessening of the Wisdom of those by whom they were enacted ; and so diminishing of that Veneration and Honour due to the Laws themselves, upon their being so defective and subject to Alteration. Upon this Consideration the foresaid *Verulam* tells us, from that Report of *Æschynes*, That in *Athens* there was a Council of Six, who, as standing Commissioners, did watch to discover what Laws waxed unproper for the Times, and what new ones did in any Branch cross the former ; and so *ex officio* did propound their Repeal in order to make these Constitutions more refin'd and lasting. A Work of this nature would be well worthy the Care and Encouragement of a Prince, and would represent him to after-Ages more glorious and radiant than all the Lustre of his Arms and smoaky Atchievements can ever pretend to do.

It would be likewise very Satisfactory to the Country, if the Gentry and Citizens, before they went to an Election, would propound to the Candidates the Grievances of the Nation, and of the Countreys and Cities in which they liv'd ; for by this means the Electors would be better inform'd who they were



were about to choofe, as alfo the Elected, what was expedient and agreeable to the Kingdoms Exigence, and for the Relief of their Neighbours.

It were to be wish'd alfo that fuch Members of Parliament as were appointed to infpect and ftate the Publick Accounts, fhould make what they have done this way Publick, either by printing, or by caufing it to be enter'd amongft the Parliament-Rolls and Records; there being nothing more rational, than that they, who freely open their Purfes for the Good and Welfare of the Kingdom, fhould, for their better Encouragement in future Supplies, underftand a little the Methods of Paff Disburfements.

The way of Voting by Balls, (as anciently among the *Romans* by Stones, where cafting in of a White Stone into the Cheft, imported Grace, as the Black Stones the contrary,) I fay, this way of Baloting is an Excellent Invention well worthy the Greatnefs of the *Venetian* Republick, in which 'tis practis'd. When the Senators or Council meet in the Doge's Palace, there is a clofe, deep, double Box of two Colours, with a common Hole or Orifice at top, into which a Man putting his Hand may reach the Mouth of either Partition without being discern'd, into which fide he puts a little Ball about the bignefs of a Button. Two of thefe little Balls, which are made of Cotton, and fo foft that no Man can hear into which fide of the double Box they fall, are gi-

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ven to every Senator when he comes up to give his Vote, (of which Balls one is White and the other Red; the one signifying the Affirmative, the other the Negative Vote,) and when they have thus one by one put in their Balls, the Boxes are unlock'd and open'd before them all. By this means Men give their Votes secretly, without being known which side they took, and without Danger of being call'd to an Account afterwards, or of being aw'd and drawn in by the Examples of others; as it happens to the contrary with us, where a few leading Persons influences the rest, and so draw all into Cabals and Parties. Were this way of Baloting practis'd in *England*, the Topping-Men (as they call them) would signifie little, as likewise the winding Methods of procuring Partisans; for, after all, every Man might Vote according to his Conscience, and without ever being known or mark'd for it afterwards.

The other Grand Consideration which I have to offer on the Behalf of the Country, in order to make it Happy, relates to our Inferior Tribunals or Courts of Justice, those I mean more especially which regard the Jurisdiction of Counties, as the Assizes of the Circuits: And,

First, It might be wish'd that the Judges who preside in Cases Criminal, might be Local, and not Itinerant; that is, such as residing constantly in the Capital Town of a County

County, might have power to hear and pass Sentence upon Offenders, holding such Sessions (as in *London*) once a Month at least.

The Disadvantages of Keeping Malefactors in Goal half a Year are very great. And,

First, In Respect of the Goalor, who, having a Swarm of Rogues for so long a time under his Custody, runs great Hazards in case of an Escape; which often happens where so many desperate Wretches are to be provided for and guarded.

Secondly, In Respect of the Prisoners themselves, who, if Innocent, endure too rigorous a Punishment by so long a Confinement and Hardship; if Guilty, they do but encourage one another in their Rogueries; and when so many Villains of all Sizes and Complexions hold a Convention, they contract an Intimacy; and, by recounting the Feats of their past Lives, and by instructing one another, they become Ten times more the Children of the Devil than before: So that once a Goal-Bird, and ever a Rogue. And even such as have the Misfortune to be Cloister'd up with such Infernal Company, tho' less Guilty, or perhaps Innocent, cannot but receive, by long Custom and Conversation, an odd Smell and Tincture from them.

Thirdly, In respect of the Expences the County is at for maintaining such Felons.

Fourthly, In respect of the Opportunities such long Confinements give them, either to corrupt Officers by the Mediation of Money or Friends,



Friends, or by forging Stories, and by suborning Witnesses, by which they may make their Escape.

And, Lastly, the Streightness of Time, by which such Itinerant Judges are confin'd to a Day, makes such Causes to be cursorily run over; whereas a Thing of that Moment, as Life and Death, wherein the Safety of the Country, the Honour of the Government, and the Fortune of the Prisoner, are so deeply concern'd, ought to be examin'd with Leisure and Caution: All which Mischiefs are fully releiv'd by fixing Judges Criminal in every Capital City; and the frequent Execution or Examples of Punishment, tho' single, would be a greater Terror to the Spectators than that of an Execution once or twice in a Year.

Another thing for which the Country seems to call for Relief, is the Miscarriages of Jurors, who being for the most part of the Yeomanry, Mercenary and Ignorant, and having no Good-liking of the Gentry, who are their Betters, are very Incompetent Judges of Differences wherein a Gentleman is concern'd. Such Trials therefore, if they were *per Pares*, would be more consonant to the Rules of Equity; that is to say, where the Controversie is between Gentlemen, the Jury might be only of Gentlemen. When one of the Parties is a Gentleman, the other of the Yeomanary, the Jury might be half of one, half of the other Order; and where both Parties are of the

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Yeomanary, 'twould be congruous that the Jury should be of the same Alloy.

In the Third place, that the Prosecutor of a Felon, in case of Conviction, should be exempted from Charges by paying of Fees, and I know not what: For what Encouragement is there for a Man, whose House is Broke open and Robb'd perhaps of 30 or 40 Shillings worth of Goods, to throw 5 or 10 Pounds after it, to have him Try'd, and perhaps Acquitted? Upon which Score it is, that most Persons chuse rather to Compound in Private with such Felons, than be at farther Costs to Prosecute such Offenders; which is but to give a farther Encouragement for the Practice of Villany, to the Disgrace of Justice. Moreover, if all the Forfeitures, Penalties, Fines, and Amerciaments arising from this Topick, and other such-like Misdemeanours, were employ'd for the Benefit of the Place in which the Offence was committed, for the Maintenance of Prisoners, and for other Publick Uses, 'twould be an Excellent Provision for the Inhabitants of such Places, and make them watchful to observe Miscarriages, and to inform against them; which would be the surest Means to make Men study to avoid them by their Good Behaviour.

Likewise Robbing of Houses in the Day-time ought to be made Capital and Punishable with Death; which thing is most Just and Equitable, as being many times more heinous than Burglary: For a Man who breaks a Dwelling-

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Dwelling-House in the Night-time, and steals Provision and Goods, tho' of small value, is sentenc'd to be hang'd; when yet a Company of Ruffians, who shall rush violently into my House, binding Me and my Servants, and breaking-open Doors and Trunks, and carrying away a very Considerable Booty, may expect a more favourable Issue: And yet this latter Crime is much more audacious, more unavoidable, and many times more fatal. It is not every petty Pilfering or Filtching which ought to come under this Denomination, but these more violent Attempts, where the Persons are seiz'd, and under Terrors; which I look upon to be much worse than Robbery on the High-way: For here a Man may expect an Assault, especially if he has any Charge about him, and consequently may provide for his own Safety by Arms or Company. But no Man breathing can keep a Guard always upon the Door of his House, which is always open for the Occasions of the Family.

Deliberate and wilful Perjury is certainly the greatest Sin that can be committed against God and Man.

And first against God: For if the perjur'd Person believes there is no God, he is guilty of Atheism; but if he believes there is a God, and yet makes use of the Deity to attest a Lye, and to abett a Falshood, by which the Life and Fortune of an Innocent Person may be destroy'd, he does, as much as in him lies, often the Murder or Ruine of such an Inno-



cent Person upon God, than which nothing can be more devilish and impious.

The Heinousness of Perjury, in respect of Man, may be considered,

1st. In respect of the Innocent Person injur'd; by which he may lose his Good Name, or his Interest and Fortune may be wounded, or perhaps he may be depriv'd of Life: So that in this Respect it may be term'd Robbery, or Murder, or Both.

2dly, In respect of the Perjur'd Person: It is for a Man formally and solemnly to abjure God, and damn his own Soul; for he desires God so far to save him by the Contents of his Holy Gospel, as the Thing he swears to is true; which in his own Heart he knowing to be false, he obliges and conjures God to damn him by the Contents of his Word.

3dly, In respect of Humane Society: For it cuts off all means to end Controversies; for an Oath is said to be the End of Strife, and many times, where false, it involves whole Kingdoms in Ruines, of which there are so many Examples before our Eyes. So that if the Punishment due to an Offence ought to be commensurated to the Damage a Man sustains by it, Temporal Death is too little for it; and in respect of the Dishonour done to Almighty God, Eternal Damnation is justly due unto it. Now to prove a Person perjur'd, where the Substance of the Matter sworn is true, the Mistake of some Particulars or Circumstances of little Moment is not sufficient, nor yet the Oaths of Persons

Persons swearing to the contrary; for they who swear *Con* may swear fallly as well as those who swear *Pro*, as is found frequently before Courts of Judicature. But to convict a Man of Perjury there ought be a full Evidence of the Fact from the clearest Circumstances attested by the Oaths of Reputable Witnesses, or by the Confession of the Person perjur'd, or by Proof of Subornation, with many such-like Irresistible Evidences: And as an Atonement for such an heinous Crime, for an infamous Person to stand an Hour or two in the Pillory, is not so properly to expose the Person guilty, as God and all Mankind to Publick Scorn.

There is one great Miscarriage which we meet with often in Cases Capital, *viz.* When Two, for Instance, are concern'd in the killing of a Man, of which one is Principal, the other Accessory; and when the Matter of Fact lies close and heavy against the Principal, as that he gave the first Blow, to fetch this Gentleman off it shall be ordered, that the Accessory shall be first brought to Trial, against whom the Evidence not reaching so fully, he shall be Acquitted by his Jury, and, without stirring from the Bar, come in as an Evidence on the Behalf of the Principal, in whose Company he was when the Fact was committed: So that the Matter being referr'd to the Consciences of a well-concerted Jury, the Principal shall be acquitted also, by their bringing it in Manslaughter only; and so, by

the help of a little Money, be discharg'd without Punishment. In which Case, the Word barely of the Accessory and Interested Person (for he cannot be admitted to Swear) shall out-weigh the Oath of him who swears for the King, as they call it, tho' uninterested, or without any appearing Temptation for him to swear falsely; the Justice of which Proceedings I am yet to learn, tho' not the Reason or Inducement.

Many other Things there are, which, if duly redress'd, would very much advance the Welfare of this Nation. As there is but one Weight or Pound, so would it be very expedient there was but one Measure all *England* over, whether of Liquids or Solids, as one Bushel or Quart, which should be the Standards, to which all greater or lesser Measures should be reduc'd. One Measure we have, as that of the Foot and Yard, &c. by which all Planes or Things, consisting of length and breadth may be exactly measur'd. Those of the Bushel and Quart, with all other Measures of that kind, might as easily be adjust'd: For by this means infinite Numbers of Cheats from Rascally Ale-tellers, Vintners, and such-like Retailers, would be avoided; as likewise the shuffling Tricks of petty Chapmen, or Badgers of Corn, who Trade from Town to Town, buying in one Place where the Measure is great, and selling the same Grain in other Places where they have less Measure to the Bushel; which Jobbing way is a great  
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Obstruction of the Markets, and to the Defrauding of the Poor, such Badgers licking their Fingers well, by getting the Grain into their Hands, and as it were monopolizing of it.

The Reformation of our Ecclesiastical Account, according to the Canon of the New Style, would be a Thing very Expedient, not only in order to make a Uniformity in Celebrating of Christian Feasts at the same time throughout the World, but as squaring also more exactly with Chronology; the Old Style being subject to many gross Absurdities, too large here to be insisted on: But a Business of this Nature belongs to the Ecclesiastical Capacity to examine.

It would be very Beneficial also to the Publick, if Justices of the Peace were oblig'd to proceed *ex officio* against Scandalous and Idle Livers and Suspected Persons, tho' no Information be brought against them; it being most obvious to every Man's Observation, that many Notorious Crimes are hourly committed against the Commands of the First Table, or of God, which go unpunish'd; whilst those which more immediately concern Man, or the Second Table, are more narrowly inspected: Cursing, Swearing, Lying, Atheistical Talk, Drunkenness, Frauds, Imbezlements of Estate, with infinite Profanations of the Divine Law, are Things which should a Man inform of he would be hiss'd at.

These, and many other the like Considerations, which flow incessantly upon Thinking Men, may, peradventure, some time or other enter into the Thoughts of some Publick Spirits, whom Authority may influence, who, doubtless, from their own Observations and penetrating Reason, may meet with Things of greater Importance than what can be suggested by a Person altogether insufficient, and living in Privacy and Obscurity, whose Endeavours, tho' every way discountenanc'd, yet in one thing he will never be restrain'd, *viz.* In pursuing his own Inclination and Duty, in praying to Almighty God for the Safety, Honour, and Settlement of this Kingdom.

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## ESSAY

*Of a Country House.*

**B**Y a Country-House I do not understand a Farm, nor the ordinary Mansion-House of a Country Gentleman; nor yet a *Villa*, or little House of Pleasure and Retreat, where Gentlemen and Citizens betake themselves in the Summer for their private Diversion, there to pass an Evening or two, or perhaps a Week, in the Conversation of a Friend or two, in some neat little House amidst a Vineyard or Garden, sequestred from the Noise of a City, and the Embarras and Distracti<sup>o</sup>n of Business, or perhaps the anxious and servile Attendance of a Court. By a Country-House then, I understand a greater Fabrick, fit to lodge a Nobleman endu'd with ample Fortunes and a vertuous Mind, where he may sweeten the Travels of a Vexatious Life, and pass away his Days amidst the solid and serene Enjoyments of the Country.

The Place or Seat of a House being a thing wherein Fancy must have a share, and the  
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Fancies of Men being very various and unconstant, 'twill be difficult to Cast an Essay of this Nature into such a Mould as shall please the Curiosities of all Men. Some have taken delight to raise Stately Houses or Castles on the top of some Rock or Eminence, as if it were hanging over, or at least over-looking some noble River, as the Castles of *Nottingham*, *Warwick*, *Windsor*, and the like. True it is, that such Seats have a most beautiful Prospect, an excellent Air, and the under-running River is a thing of great Ornament and Use; but then 'tis as true too, that they are too much expos'd to the Heats of Summer, and to the Blasts of Winter: they want Out-let, and rarely enjoy such a temper'd Earth, or Soil, as is requisite for a Garden; nor can they well be beautified by Fountains, which Circumstances conduce very much, and are in a manner essential to a Noble House.

Others again please their Fancies by building in a Valley, upon the Bank of (or near) a River; for by this means they are sheltered from the violence of Cold Winds and Tempestuous Storms, and enjoy the pleasant views of verdant Meadows; so that a beautiful House seated upon the Bank of a clear-running River, washing the Walls of the Terras in the Gardens, and stor'd with Swans, is very delightful, as it is also to be refresh'd in the Summer Evenings, by taking a Turn or two upon the Christal Streams in some little Bark or Pleasure-Boat. But withal, such Seats are in-

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commoded many times by Floods, nor is the Air so wholesome, especially in the Winter, being too much subject to Foggs and watry Vapours; nor do they afford that pleasure to the Eye as a House built on the side of a Hill, over-looking the neighbouring Plains, and whose Prospect is terminated by other Hills at a greater distance: For a Seat which has nothing but the wide Plain for its object, affords but little pleasure to the Eye (it being here as upon the Sea) where the level of the Surface determines the sight to a small distance: Upon which account I cannot see why *Versailles* should be lookt upon to be so fine a Seat, there lying nothing but dead Plains beyond it, in which the sight, I say, is soon lost, receiving in but little Variety, in the same manner as it happens to those, who being on Ship-board, cannot see a League about them, unless some Ship or Land-Mark standing above the level of the Eye, lengthen out the Prospect.

The Old *Romans* generally took much delight to build their Pleasure-Houses near the Sea, as appears by the Ruines at this day seen near *Baia* and *Gaeta*. This probably they did for the benefit of the Breezes, which at some certain times of the day, blow always from the Seas with universal Refreshment; tho'tis probable too, that the great Road for all their Military Expeditions, as well as to their Naval Magazines, lying towards *Naples* and *Sicily*, which was the Granary also of *Rome*, the Nobility and Gentry were

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were more inclin'd to choose such Places for their Retirement and Recreation, as lay nearest to the Road of Business; so that they were always in a readiness to change from one line to another, upon any sudden occasion, and with little trouble. The great Cascades or Falls of Water from a Precipice, which we observe frequently in *Italy*, occasion'd principally by the dissolution of the Snow on the high Mountains in the Summer Seasons, afforded noble advantages for Summer-Seats. Hence it was that *Tusculum* and *Tyber* were then esteem'd as places of great Delight, as they are also at this very day under the Names of *Friscati* and *Tinoli*.

But since we have not these natural Advantages, we must be contented with such as our Climate and Country do afford. First then, we must have regard to the Air, that it be open, not Perd nor subject to Fogs and Mists. In the next place, let the Soil be dry, sandy or Gravelly, and *sur le Parchant*, on the side of a Ground gently rising, not amongst Enclosures, but in a champaign, open Country; and if a Navigable River ran within Two or Three Miles of the place, 'twould be very commodious in many respects, and if nearer at hand, it would much contribute to the Beauty and Prospect of the Seat; but above all, I hold it absolutely necessary, that it should be serv'd with some little Rivolet, or copious source of clear and wholesome Water, descending from the higher Grounds, behind the place

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on which the House is designed to be erected ; the uses whereof I shall speak to hereafter. As for good Neighbours, (a Circumstance much conducing to sweeten the Tedioufness of too much Solitude) I suppose my Nobleman to be in such a Range of Fortune, as either by his Power, or by his generous Deportment rather, to be able to draw them to his Seat, or if these be wanting, yet to be Master of so much Fortune, as to be able to compass within his own Family and Territory, whatsoever a Mind endued with Moderation, can reasonably desire. And as for the Site and Circumstances of such a Seat as I am going now to describe, there are many Noblemen and Gentlemen in this Kingdom, who have all the Natural Advantages imaginable for a Prince-like Habitation.

In pursuance therefore of such a Draught, I shall reduce my Project under Two General Designs or Heads. The First shall be that of the Main Building or Habitation it self ; the Second shall be that of the Farm or Village thereon depending, and by which the great Mansion-House may be supplied with Necessaries, as likewise with Labourers upon all Occasions. First then, for the Mansion-House it self, let it be seated in the midst of a large Park, the Ground gently rising, and facing the *South*, or at least the Morning Sun. I would have the Park to be at the least a Mile and an half over every way, which I thus divide, *viz.* half a Mile for the Approach or Avenue to the


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the House, half a Mile for the Houses, Gardens, and Lawnes invironing the principal Mansion; and half a Mile behind the House for Out-let.

All the Ground betwixt the Entrance of this Inclosure or Park, and the second Region allotted for the Dwelling-House, I would have planted with Trees, and above all with Beech, if the Soil will admit; or if the Place be already planted, and in the form of a Wood, I would have a large Walk or Road, of Thirty Paces breadth, leading directly from the Entrance of the Park to the Dwelling-House, which I would have to stand in full front or view; which Walk or Road I would have regularly pitch'd for a considerable breadth, to prevent the Dirt which a constant Intercourse of Horses and Carriages might make. On each side of which Ground-walk I would have private Foot-walks within the Wood, well gravell'd, or clean kept, in breadth of about Sixteen Foot each, which, like a dark Arbour-walk, should butt directly upon the corners of the front in the Dwelling-House; so that the Trees meeting at the top, would make it wonderful cool and delightful in the Summer, the long Shade-alleys or Glades being terminated in the building. But in case it may be thought that such Walks or Glades through Woods might hinder the View and Prospect of the House, the Avenue or Approach may be cast into a Figure something resembling a Theatre; in which case we may  
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allow what wideness we please, provided still that the principal Mansion, with all its Courts, Gardens, Out-buildings, and Offices, stand full in front to the Entrance, the shady Groves regularly contracting themselves the nearer Approach we make unto it. By this means the Palace will be seen at a vast distance, without Reserve or Mask upon its Face, resembling the same stately Canopy at the head of the in-bearing Woods. But whatsoever Fancy may be pitch'd upon, this must carefully be taken heed to, that the tops of the Trees do not rise higher than the Rooms upon the first Floor, to the hinderance of Air and Prospect; and it may easily be allow'd that they will not, considering that the House is to be built upon a Rising-Ground, and at some distance from the tending Woods.

As for the Mansion-Seat, or Dwelling-House, let it be erected in the midst of that internal or middle-Region, before-allotted, in the Figure of a Square or *Saxon* , the straight line or Basis joining the two sides, which we call the Front, to be a double Building, and to be One hundred ninety four Feet in Breadth, and Sixty Foot in Depth or Traverse, therein comprehending the Walls, Partitions, and Chimneys, for all which there must be an Allowance proportionable to such a Design. I would have the first Floor on the Front-side to be at least Four Foot above Ground; and the first Floor on the two wings or sides to be about Three Foot, or something



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something lesser, above the Ground, assigning the under-Region for Kitchens, Pantries, Larders, Cellars, Pastry-Rooms, Store-Houses, Distillatories, Landring-Rooms, &c. as also for Lodging-Rooms for some of the Inferior Domesticks. As for Brew-Houses, Bake-Houses, and the like, I shall provide for them in another place.

I would have the House divided into two grand Apartments, perfectly the same in all Respects, as to form and number of Rooms, excepting only a convenient Room for a Chapel, to be taken out of one side; of which anon. Let the whole Fabrick then consist of, 1st. Vaulted Rooms, at least Nine Foot high, and of this Four Foot above Ground: 2dly, The Ground or Lower-Floor: 3dly, The Chamber-Floor, or Rooms of State: and, 4thly, The upper-Floor. As to the heighth, the first Course of Rooms in the front, in which we land, ought to be Fifteen Foot high, the next likewise Fifteen Foot, and the upper-Story, or Roof-Floor, to be Twelve Foot high; so that the Front, from the Bottom to the Roof, with Allowance for the Thickness of the Floors, will be near upon Fifty Foot high. I would have likewise Fourteen Windows in the Front, Seven on a side, each Window to be Six Foot wide in the clear, and Nine Foot high; and so they will be Six Foot distant from one another. In the middle of the Front I allow Twelve Foot for the Breadth of the Thorough-Passage; and I would

would have the whole Orchard fair of the Front, I mean in the Roof, to be cast into this form, *viz.* Three Pavilions, one in the middle, and one at each end, resembling Three *Cupola's*, not round, but rather in a Canopy-form. For Decoration, I would have betwixt all the Windows, Columns on their Basis, reaching from the Ground to the Roof, and sustaining a suitable Cornish; the Pillars to be in Number Fourteen, answering the Intervals of the Windows; and on the Cornish over every Pillar I would have a Statue of proportionable bigness, *à la Romanesque*, as a *Gladiator*, a *Hercules* killing the *Hydra*, with such-like Figures as represent Action or Motion.

But in regard that Pillars in their full Dimensions, or proportionable to the height given, will be vastly big and expensive, and consequently darken all the Windows in the Front, (for such Pillars in their full Dimensions are rarely to be seen, but under the Roof of Portico's in vast Fabricks, sustaining great Weights, and standing at some distance from the Lights,) I would have the Pillars in this Design, being such as are for Decoration rather than for Use, to stand swelling a little out of the Building, in *relievo*, more full or shallow, as the Architect shall think fit: Or in case they be made entire, they may be of different Orders, rising betwixt every Stige or Story in the Front, and then they will be of such a size as will not much hinder the Light.



or Prospect. However, I hold the former Design or Decoration, by Pillar-work, as in a *Basso Relievo*, swelling out of the Walls betwixt the Windows of the Front, to be more beautiful than the several Orders of lesser Columns standing out entire, because we have the Beauty of Greatness without any Inconvenience and with less Expence.

Over the Portal or Entrance, which must be ascended by double-winding Stairs, of eight or ten Degrees, I would have a stately Balcony looking full in the Grand Avenue, over which an Architrave supported by Pillar-work, and garnished above with Imagery in *Relievo*; the Roof on the Front-side to be leaded, as also the Arches, to weather the Windows, &c. and let the Coins or Corners of the Front, as likewise the Stone-Work betwixt the two Grand Apartments, or about the Portal, be of great square Stones, cut and set *a la Rustique*; and on the top of all, directly over the Entrance, and in the midst of the Statues, but something higher, a *Statua Equestris*, or some Trophy; as likewise a *Victoria alata*, at each corner of the Front, would look very great and noble: And because the Front is suppos'd to be a double Building, the Roof towards the top ought to be flatned and leaded, and incircled with Balusters, with some Figures for Ornament here and there, conveniently standing on them. Such flat Roofs likewise are very Commodious for Air and Prospect in the Summer-Even-  
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ings, as likewise in the Winter-Seasons, when the Days are calm and serene.

Now as to the Distribution of the inward parts of this Front, supposing, as I said, that it be a double Building, at the least Sixty Foot in the Traverse, of which Twelve Feet for the but Walls and middle Partitions, whereon to raise Chimneys, and support the Roof, let there be, in the first place, two double-Gates for the Entrance, one of Grate or Inn-work, for the benefit of the Air and Breezes in the Summer; the other an inward Gate or Door of Wood to keep out the Winter-Winds: Opposite whereunto, at the end of the Passage which does traverse the House, let there be two other Doors likewise of the same Figure, Matter, and Dimensions with the former, giving an open View through the House, Inner-Court, Gardens, &c. and this not only to please the Eye, but to refresh and cool the House in hot Seasons; for such Thorough-Passages suck in the Air in a full Stream, of which more hereafter. Likewise, touching the Front, as also the other two sides of the Fabrick, consisting of two Grand Apartments, I shall make a Description of one part only; the other being understood to be perfectly the same, excepting only one or two Rooms, which is not very material.

On the Front or Entrance-side therefore, as soon as we land, let there be on the one hand a Hall, or Common Reception Room, in breadth twenty four Foot, in length thirty

six Feet, besides the breadth of that space which was allow'd for the Cross-Passage betwixt the two Grate-Doors; by which means the Hall, with the Addition of the Passage, will be forty eight Feet in length, that is to say, double to the breadth; which may seem perhaps something disproportionable, but this may be disguis'd by a Screen, or otherways. Within the Hall let there be a Parlour or Room of Conference, square twenty four feet; and within this let there be an inward Parlour, or Room of Reflexion, of the same Dimensions, which will be very light, as being the Corner-Room, and so it must have Windows on two sides; of all which three Rooms I would have the Doors plac'd directly one against the other, and to be rather on the Window-side than in the middle of the Room. It being likewise suppos'd to be a double-Building, on the side of the inward Parlour I would have a Withdrawing-Room; and on the side of the middle Parlour, or Room of Conference, I would have a Winter-Parlour, or Room of Reflexion, which will fall out to be of less Dimensions than the rest, and therefore warmer and more private; and for this there will be space enough and to spare towards our Priy-Stairs, which we shall come to by and by: And lastly, on the Hall-side there will be another convenient Room for Entertainment, or for any other use whatsoever.

Now for the Grand Stairs, I would have them double, and plac'd near the farther Door, opposite



opposite to the Entrance; and for each of these there is allow'd twenty four Feet one way, and sixteen another; so that the Grand Floor or Entrance being to be added to it, the Area of each Ascent will be twenty four Foot square, and the Steps or Degrees will be near upon eight Feet in length. I would have the Rails of the Stairs to be Iron-work cast into Figures, or Devices, and Cyphers, as also to be laid in Oil to prevent Rust, and to be gilt in convenient Places; as also on the Walls of the Stairs, and of the Hall, let there be large History-Paintings, as of Huntings, Battles, Carousels, and the like, and here and there some Statues on their Pedestals, or Busts in Niches.

The upper-Floor of the Front is for Rooms of State, as Antichambers, Chambers, Withdrawing-Rooms, &c. The Passage or Entrance on which we land at the top of the Stairs of the first Floor, will be of the same Dimensions with the Passage or Entrance underneath, *viz.* sixty feet in length, and twelve in breadth, at each end whereof let there be a stately Balcony-Window, one opening towards the outward Courts and Avenue of the House, from whence you may behold the Park and Country below you; the other great Window will open to the inward Court, from whence we have a View likewise of the Gardens, Fountains, and of the Country which lies about the House: At each of these Windows in the Balconys, let there be plac'd fair



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Orange-Trees in their Cases, which, when the Windows are set open, will, with the Air that is drawn in, send their Perfumes in to the Gallery or Walk, as also to the bordering Chambers, with wonderful Pleasure and Refreshment. The Walls of this Cross-Walk or Gallery, I would have adorn'd with all sorts of Landskip, as Boscage, Paysarge, Ruines, Promontories, Buildings, Towns, Rivers, Sea-Battles, Sports or Wakes of Peasants, &c. also some curious Cabinets and some Statues would much adorn it.

On the other side of the Grand Apartment below, and opposite to the Common Hall, I would have a Private Chapel, twenty four Feet in breadth, and in length thirty six Feet, and about thirty Foot in heighth, being the heighth which was assign'd for the Lower and Middle-Stories, with an over-hanging Gallery issuing out of the Walls or Passage of the middle-Story, before-mentioned: As for the Ornaments of the Chapel, that's a Thing which must be left to the Genius of the Lord of it.

And as for the upper Region of the Front, on the side which regards the Park or Entrance, there should be a fair long Gallery; at one end whereof I would have a Library, with a Repository for the Deeds and Writings of my Lord's Estates and Manors. The inward-side of this upper-Floor should be for Lodging-Rooms, and the side Walls of the Gallery to be adorn'd with the Pictures of the Family,

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mily, as also of Brave and Learned Men; to which we may add Statues, and Rarities, whether of Art or Nature, with Cabinets and Monuments of Antiquity, with Maps and Platforms of Fortification, with all sorts of Engines and Machines in lesser Forms; as also with the rarest Prints, with inlay'd-Cabinets and Tables, whether of Stone or Wood, by Materials of the Natural Colour; and some Originals or good Copies of the best Masters: For as for Painting in Frieze, the Temper of our Air will not admit of it.

The Chimneys in the Front or double-Building require to be raisd in the middle of the House, and not on the side-Walls; as for the side-Building or Wings of the House, it not being a double-Building of such Bulk, the Chimneys may be plac'd in another figure: All which Chimneys should have their Tunnels, not in the common form, but in the shape of Flower-Pots, Vines, Censers, Candlesticks, or some such Fancy; yet so as all to be of one kind, as the Architect shall think fit; all which would be much more Graceful and Ornamental than the common shape, and altogether as Convenient, Cheap, and Useful: And so I have done with the first Double-side or Front of the House.

Next, for the Sides or Wings, they must be of a lower and narrower Structure, as being the main Rooms of Use, and to attend upon the greater Pile. To each Side I allow One hundred and fifty Foot in length, out of which



we may take sufficient Space for Chimneys, Stairs, and Passages. The breadth of the lower-Rooms, besides the Thickness of the Walls, to be eighteen Foot; and therefore they must have Thorough-Lights: And on the within and Court-side I would have a Cloister or Walk of about ten Foot broad and fourteen Foot high, the Pillars or Arch-work whereof to meet at the top, and to have little Niches for *Busto's*, or for some Imagery in *Relievo*. Over this Cloister I would have the upper-Stories extended; so that they will be of twenty eight or thirty Feet in breadth, which I thus distribute, *viz.* Eighteen Feet for the Chambers, which must be square, their height eleven Feet, and Windows proportionable; and on the side of each Chamber there will be sufficient on the Court-side, or on the Hanging-over the Cloister, to make two little inward Rooms or Closets, of about ten Foot square each, which may serve for Lodging-Rooms for Servants, attending on Gentlemen or Ladies, as also for Closets, Wardrobes, or Places of Convenience; so that there will be six larger Chambers, and twelve lesser Chambers or Closets upon a Floor, and the like Number in the upper-Story, if the Architect think fit. I would not have the Vaults on the sides to be above three Foot above Ground, for that is sufficient to give Light to the Subterraneous Rooms or Offices, which Rooms may be sunk to what depth we please. The Rooms on the First Floor above

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Ground may be design'd for Ordinary Entertaining-Rooms for Strangers, a Room for the Gentlemen-Servants to eat in, &c.

I would have two Stair-Cases and Thorough-Entries on each side, one at each corner, where the side-Buildings or Wings are join'd to the Main Body or Grand Front; the other in the middle of the Sides, with Steps gently rising to the First Floor or Passage, where Stairs likewise are assign'd. I would likewise have the Cloister continu'd throughout that side which makes the Main Body; but withal, there must be a greater Allowance proportionable to the Building, *viz.* Nineteen or twenty Foot in height, and in breadth about thirteen, with a fair Ascent in the middle, leading to the Grand Passage of the House, and answerable to the Entrance on the Front. Over this Cloister-Walk there is to be no Building, but a flat, leaded Walk, like a Terras, where may be placed Statues, with Boxes of Orange-Trees, Lemons, Jessamins, Flower-Pots, and Greens, with some Bird-Cages, to be convey'd or remov'd, as Occasion shall require; as likewise two Fountains or *Jetteans*, with their Basons, the Water to be deliver'd by Pipes into the Base-Court, to furnish other Fountains or Basons; all which would not only delight the Eye but the Smell too, at such Time as the Balcony-Windows of the middle-Gallery, before spoken of, shall be opened.

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The other Wing, which makes up the third Side of the House, I would have to be the same in Form and Dimensions with that I have now describ'd ; saving, that at the farther ends of these Sides or Wings of the House, I would have an Armoury in one, and an Jirfirmacy in the other. And as for the Garrets or Roof-Rooms of the whole House, they are to be for the Use of the Domesticks, or Apartments for Women ; as also for the Pages and Gentlemen, which are Retainers to the Family, with convenient Places also for the Occasions of the Landery.

As for the Inward-Court of this Building, I would have it neatly Pav'd or Pitch'd, and not to be of Earth, with Gravell'd Walks and Grass-Plats ; for these in the Winter-time will loosen after a Frost, and stick to the Feet ; besides, the Washings of Rain will fill the lower Draughts with Filth : Nor is there any Danger of too much Heat to be reflected from the Stones, as my Lord *Verulan* does object ; for the sides of the House will guard the Courts sufficiently from such Annoyance : But this, as many other things, must be left to the Fancy of the Builder. However, I should like two Fountains, or *Jetteaux*, with their Basons, in the midst of the Court, on each side one ; and the further end of the Court, or fourth Side, answering the double-Building, to be all of Grate-work, with Freestone-Pillars, and Statues on the tops, giving a View or Prospect into the Grand Garden, the Doors or

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Gates being of Azure and Gilded, opening in the middle, and giving Entrance thereinto.

Besides these Buildings, of which I have already spoken, on the back-sides of the two Wings should be Stairs leading down into the Offices and Cellars, as also at twenty Paces distance a long range of low Buildings, in form of a Penthouse, not exceeding the height of an ordinary Wall of fourteen Foot. The Use of these is for Store-Houses for Coal and Wood, for feeding of Poultry, for washing of Linnen; as also for Lodging-Rooms for the Inferior Domesticks, as Gardeners, Cooks, Scullions, Common Footmen, and the like. I allow twenty Paces breadth to the Walk before the low Buildings, for the Convenience of Carts and Drays to come and go on the Back-side, to bring all necessary Provisions, of what kind soever. Likewise I would have the Current of Water running from the Roof, not to be discharg'd by Pipes on the Court-sides, but to be let round by a kind of Gutter upon the Leads to the Back-sides, there to be receiv'd into great Cisterns of Lead, for the Occasions of the Landry, and from thence to be conveyed into the Common Draught or Vaulted-Shore, or to serve the Occasions of the Kitchen-Gardens.

And thus much may suffice for the Draught of the Main Building, with one further Remark only, that in case the Building be of Stone, the inside Walls must be lin'd with Brick to prevent the Injuries which may happen to the Rooms



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Rooms and Furniture, from the dampness and sweating of the Stones. The next thing to be consider'd of is the Gardens, *viz.* that of the Kitchen, and that of Pleasure.

I shall begin with the Pleasure-Garden, into which, as I said before, we are to make our Entrance through the side of Grate-Work, which makes up the Quadrangle of the inner Court: The Par-terries or Plan of the Ground to be allow'd for the Garden, ought at least to be Six-Score Paces or Yards in breadth, and Nine Score in length; which I divide into three equal Parteries or Gardens, allowing to each Garden one hundred and twenty Paces, and sixty for depth, the Garden equally extending it self on both sides the House. As to the Pattern of the First Garden, let it be subdivided into Two Plats or Plans by a grand Alley in the middle, of thirty Foot in breadth; the side or round about Alleys to be fifteen in breadth, the borders on the sides of the Alleys six foot breadth, as also three foot along the Walls or Sides of the Garden where Fruit-Trees may be planted. Within which Borders on the sides, let there be other lesser Gravell'd Alleys of about six foot breadth with paths through the middle of the Borders, of a just breadth, to pass from Alley to Alley. When this is done there will remain a Quadrangular Plat in the middle, which may serve for a Grass-Plat, and in the midst thereof let there be a fair Fountain with a Bason of thirty foot Diameter, well pav'd and flank'd with Free-Stone, and in the

Centre

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Centre of this let there be some Statue delivering the Water into the Fountain, such as *Nep-tune* riding upon a *Tritan*, out of whose Shell let the Water spout, or a Sea-Monster thrusting up his Head, and spouting out the Water into the Air, or a *Diana* with her Nymphs bathing themselves, and the Water trickling down the Linnen wherewith she drys her self; Or some other naked Female Figure, with water letting out at her Nipples, with a thousand such Inventions. The like Curiosities of Walks, Fountains, Statues, &c. to be in the other Partern or Partition of this First Garden.

The Borders which may be made, more or fewer, wider or narrower, according to the Genius of the Gardener, I would have replenished with Flowers, for every Month or Season of the Year: For to see a Flower-Garden without its decorations, is all one as to sit down to a Table furnish'd with Cloth, Plates and Napkin, and nothing serv'd in. To enumerate the particular Flowers would be too tedious, the Curious may find Varieties to entertain themselves in Mr. *Wooldrige's Collection*, and especially Mr. *Evelyn's Kalendar*, a Gentleman who has oblig'd all-lovers of planting, by his Excellent Books upon that Subject.

All throughout the Borders at an equal distance, let there be little Bushes of Ever-Greens, as Dwarf, Cypresses, Philyreas, Rosemary, Lavender, Bays, Lawns, Limes, Savine and Rue; for these also are Green in Winter and

Sticky



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Sticky. Also some kinds of Holly would be Ornamental, as likewise little Firr-Trees, but these must be remov'd every three Years, because they cannot be drest without spoiling their Figure; let there be planted likewise up and down some little Tufts or Matts of Peaks for these look prettily in the Winter, as also some Mizerean Trees and the like.

Along the Grand Alley, as also from the ends of the long Upper-Walks, we may have three Ascents to Mount by, into the Second Garden, each Ascent to consist of sixteen or seventeen Steps, which second Garden I would have to stand nine foot above the first, which may easily be brought about, the whole Design both of the House and Garden being on a Rising Ground, as I said at the beginning; so that the Second Garden will be as a Terras to the first; and in the sides of the Bank which parts the two Gardens, and looking full to the Sun, we have a place for our Green-Houses. These Green-Houses must be at the least nine foot high; for otherwise they will not be capable of holding Cases or Boxes of Orange-Trees of any considerable bigness. These Green-Houses likewise ought to be sunk three or four foot under Ground, for by this means the Plants will be better defended from the Frost. Also the Vaults should be made of Brick to keep out the dampness of the Earth, and I like Matted Doors or Pent-houses to be hoist up and down at pleasure, much better than Glass-Doors, tho they are not so beautiful: For they

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they will defend the Cafes very well from Cold; or perhaps it may not be inconvenient to have the Glafs-Doors lin'd with a thick Matting within, or to be cover'd therewith on the out-side, as shall be most convenient. The Furniture of the Green-Houses ought to be this, *viz.* Orange and Lemon-Trees, Myrtles, of which the small leav'd Myrtle is more difficult to be preserv'd: *Tuberosus's*, which will hold their Flowers in Winter, *Jessamins* of all sorts, as the *Spanish*, or *Jessamine of Catalonia*, the *double-blossom'd Jessamine*, with a Flower like to a Double Cherry, the *Persian Jessamine*, and the like; as likewise *Mavyn*, *Syriacum*, which tho a little Shrub, or a sort of *Mastick Thyme*, is much to be valued for its rich, Balsamick Smell: the Olive-Tree, the Pomegranate-Tree, the Oleander or Rose-Lawrel, &c. Likewise in the same Bank let there be Variety of Seats, and in the midst a *Grotto* made of Shell-work, with some little Imagery, delivering the Water through little Pipes, with some wetting-Places, as also a Bathing-Place or *Bason* in the midst; likewise some artificial Birds murmuring or chirping, a Serpent hissing, with some contiguous Furies, would very much contribute to the pleasure of such *Grotto's*. All which Water-works, whether of *Grotto's* or *Fountains* are to be fram'd with proportionable Pipes for the clearer Conveyance of the Water to some of the lower Fountains, and from them to the Offices of the House. On the Tops of the Degrees or Stairs  
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by which we ascend to the Second Garden, let there be erected little Pyramids with gilded Balls, or little Angels on the tops of them.

The Second Garden being of the same Dimensions with the first, I would have distributed into the same Order of Walks, Alleys, Borders, Grass-Plots and Fountains; only for Variety let the Grass-Plots and Alleys about them be of an Oval Figure: Also let the Borders be planted with Flowers of different kinds from those of the lower Garden, yet serving the several Months or Seasons, which may easily be done, if we except the Winter-Quarter, which admits but of little Variety: And as the first were adorn'd with Ever-Greens, so let the Borders of this be adorn'd with dwarf Fruit-Trees, as Cherries, Apples, some choice Pears, &c. cut and shap'd into little round hollow Bushes: likewise to have little Lath-Walkes for Climbers or Honey-suckles, *Indian Ciestes*, and the like. On the sides of this Garden I would have Two Terras-Walks, overlooking the Country on either side, each Walk being sixty Paces long. From this Second Garden let there be three Ascents (as from the former) landing into the third and last Garden: Also about the Walls of the Terras of this second or Middle-Garden, let there be planted some sorts of Fruit-Trees, and here and there some Common Jessamines, the White and the Yellow. Trial likewise may be made of the *Spanish* Jessamine, and of the broad-leav'd Myrrh, as we see in the *Tuilleries* at Paris;



*Paris*, but I fear they will not resist the Injuries of our Climate, tho they be fenc'd with Mattings.

The Third or last Region of our Pleasure-Garden I would have wholly to be design'd for Boscage: Only Three long Alleys running to the farther end by way of continuance of those which traverse to the lower Gardens. Let there be likewise up and down little private Alleys or Walks of Beech, for this is a delicate Green: Here likewise let there be Tufts of Cypress-Trees, planted in the Form of a Theater, with a Fountain at the bottom, and Statues round about; likewise Fir-Trees in some negligent Order, as also Lawrels, Phillyrea's, Bays, Tumarist, the Silac Tree, *Althea* Fruits, Pyracanthe, Yew, Juniper, Holly, Cork Tree, and in a word, with all sorts of Winter Greens which may be made to grow, together with wild Vines, Bean-Trefoile, *Spanish Ash*, Horse-Chesnut, Sweet-Brier, Honey-Suckles, Roses, Almond-Trees, Mulberries, &c. Also up and down let there be little Banks or Hillocks, planted with wild Thyme, Violets, Primroses, Cowslips Daffadille, Lillies of the Valley, Blew-Bottles, Daisies, with all kinds of Flowers which grow wild in the Fields and Woods; as also amongst the Shades Strawberries, and up and down the Green-Walks let there be good store of Camomile, Water-Mint, Organy, and the like; for these being trod upon, yield a pleasant Smell; and let the Walls be planted with *Hedera*, *Canadensis*



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densis, and Philyrea's, &c. So that this Third Garden, Grove or Wilderness, should be made to represent a perpetual Spring; To which end and purpose let there be large Aviaries in convenient places, which should have Ever-Green Trees growing in them, especially such as bear Berries, together with little Receptacles for Fresh Water. Likewise for Variety's sake, let there be here and there a Fruit-Tree, as Plumbs and Cherries, Haw-Thorn, with such like as will not run to Timber; for these Trees also have their Beauties in their several Seasons. In a word, let this Third Region or Wilderness be Natural-Artificial; that is, let all things be dispos'd with that cunning, as to deceive us into a belief of a real Wilderness or Thicket, and yet to be furnished with all the Varieties of Nature: And at the upper end of this Wilderness, let there be a Grate-Gate, answering the Entrance to the Garden; beyond which, and without the Territory of our Garden, let there be planted VValks of Trees to adorn the Landskip; Likewise a Bowling-Green and Poddock would be suitable to this higher Ground; and thus at length the Prospect may terminate on Mountains, VVoods, or such Views as the Scituation will admit of.

Our Kitchen-Gardens are the next thing to be spoken to, and these must be double, answerable to the Two Grand Apartments of the House, and are to have their place immediately behind that Range of low Build-

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ing or Offices which run along the two wings of the Main Structure. The breadth of these Gardens I would have to be equal to the length of these Sides, as also of the Court-Walls, which make the Entrance to the House, and so down to the Stables, of all which by and by; so that the breadth of each Kitchen-Garden will be at least One hundred and twenty Paces; and for depth, more or less, as it shall seem good, there being Out-let enough and to spare out of the Space or Ground we at first allow'd, which was half a Mile every way for the Buildings and their Appurtenances.

I would have the Kitchen-Garden likewise to be divided into several Apartments, not as the Pleasure-Garden, by Ascents and different Ornaments, but by ranging or distributing the Herbs, which may serve the Occasions of the Kitchen, according to their several Uses: Odoriferous Herbs, with such as are fit for the Pot, or the Distillatory, should be in one quarter, as Thyme of all sorts, Winter-savoury, Marjorum of all sorts, Sorrels, Bourglafs, or *Langue-de-Bœuf*, Borrage, Orach, Bloodwort, Cumfry, Spinage, Leeks, Onions, Garlick, Parsley, Vio'ets, Hyssop, Stachas, Muscovy, Sweed-Mouldin, Southern-wood, Fenne<sup>l</sup>, Baum, Angelico, Lavender, Organy, or Penny-royal, Beets of all sorts, &c. Another Quarter of the Garden should be for Roots; as Carrot, Scorrone<sup>a</sup>, Radishes, Rom-lucio, Horseradish, Parsnips, Skirrets, &c. For as for Tur-  
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nips, Potato's, Jerusalem-Artichokes, and the like, they are a wild sort of Fare, and may do well enough in Common Ground : And as for Beans, Pease, Worts, Cabbages, and the like, they will require more room than what we can allow them in this Place.

The Third Quarter of the Kitchen-Garden I would have assign'd for Sallad-Herbs ; as Lettices of all sorts, Chervil, Burnet, Chivet, Endive, Spinage, Alifanders, Sweet-Basil, Rampions, Rocket, Cellery, Sage, Corn-Salad, Pursland, Cucumbers, Garden-Cress, Indian-Cress, &c. not forgetting such things as serve for Seasoning of Dishes, and our Ragousts, as Garlick, Roccombol, Eschalot, &c.

The last Quarter of our Garden, let it be for Asparagus, Cole-Flowers, Brocoli, Dutch-Savoys, Muskmelons, Artichoaks, Kidney-Beans, &c. and up and down the Beds let there be planted such common Flowers as may serve for Garniture or Shew ; as Columbines, Star-wort, Flos-Solis, Holy-oaks, common Carnations, Pinks, Lilies, Gilliflowers, &c. As likewise let there be Provision made in every Quarter for Physick-Herbs : And likewise in the Kitchen-Garden, or near it, let there be a large Recepticle of Water ; in or near which let there be a quantity of rotten Horse-Dung, or Pigeons-Dung, to soak, which, after it has been heated by the Sun for some time, may serve the Occasions of the Garden. Likewise let there be Stores or Magazines to all the Gardens, or a Compost of rotten Dung, whether



whether of Horse or Sheep, with Lime discretely us'd, some Ashes, the Earth of rottin Wood, the Dust or Powder of old Wythies, and the like; which, after it has been well temper'd together, and thoroughly digested, (which will not be under a Year or two,) it will be still at hand to serve the Seed-Plots, and other Occasions of the Garden: And this sort of Compost will not be very apt to breed Weeds, especially if the Pots or Seed-Plots be powder'd with the Earth in the hollow of an old Tree finely sifted.

Likewise in some convenient Place without the Kitchen-Garden, there ought to be some Provision made for Cherry-Trees, Plum-Trees, Filbirds, Walnuts, Quinces, Mulberries, with the like; as also for Goose-berries, Ras-berries, Currans, Straw-berries, &c. The Walls of all the Kitchen-Garden to be planted with Vines, and all sorts of Wall-Fruit. There must be likewise a Plantation or Nursery. All which, with many other things of this Nature, are to be left to the Care and Consideration of the Gardeners, who ought to have their Lodges near the Walls, and over-looking the several Gardens, with Postern or Privy-Doors into them, and good Mastiff-Bitches to guard them.

As for Vineyards, I account them a superfluous Curiosity; for they will never come to much, unless it be in a Soil, or Rising-Ground, near some great River, where the Beams of the Sun reflecting from the smooth

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Surface of the Water against the neighbouring Banks, may contribute something possibly, especially in a hot Season, to the Maturation of the Grapes. Besides, that in the Model I here propose, there is Wall-room sufficient to make a considerable quantity of Wine. There is one thing farther to be regarded in the Pleasure-Garden, which is, to have Seats within the Walls on every side, in the nature of Vaults or Summer-Houses, finely paved, with Arch-work, and some little rise by Steps; by which means such as walk may ease themselves, and enjoy either the Sun or the Shade, and be secur'd from the Annoyance of Winds and Rains, at all Seasons of the Day and of the Year. And thus much may suffice for a rude Draught of the Gardens.

We are now in the last place to consider of other Buildings, as Stables, Coach-Houses, as also of the Courts or Approaches to this Country-House. The Courts then leading to the Front ought to be two at least; the Figure or Form of them, whether square or oval, may be left to Fancy. The First or Outward-Court of Approach ought to be eighty Paces in the sides at least, with proportionable Gates of Grate-work, Walks, &c. The Walls to be planted with Philirea's, and at the Entrance two stately Pyramids of forty Foot high at least, with Angels or gilded Balls on the top, and within the Gate a convenient Lodge for the Porter; in the midst of the Grass Plots Statues. The second Court would require to

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be of the same wideness, but not of the same depth, but rather something less than the former, and to be ascended by Steps or Degrees; at the Entrance, the Arms and Atchievements of the Family, with their Supporters, or some Figures of Gigantick Form. In the midst of the Parterrees on either hand, Fountains, if there be sufficient Store of Water, with Cypress-Trees round the Borders. Through this Court we are to ascend by Degrees or Stairs into the Dwelling-House; but the Form and Figure of such Stairs is to be left to the Architect. On the sides of the Inner-Court a Terras would be very proper, and the Walls on the Top or Crest may be adorn'd with Flower-Pots, little Pyramids, Anticks, and the like.

Next, for the Stables they are to be two, answerable to the two Apartments of the House, and they are to be plac'd at about twenty Paces distance from the ends of the first Court Walls, that there may be sufficient room for Teams to go to the back-sides of the Apartments, to serve the Occasions of the House, as I have before-mention'd; which Entrance should be of Palisade-work. Each Stable ought to contain Sixty Horses at least, besides Coach-Houses; over which to be Lodgings for the Grooms, Coach-men, and such Foot-men, and other Servants as are appointed to attend them. Each Stable therefore will require to have a hundred Paces, if single; for as for double Stables, they are not graceful,



nor can there be sufficient room within for Provender, Harness, and other Furniture. I would likewise have some Water discharging it self into the Cisterns, at the Entrances into the Stables, as also within the Stables, for many Uses, in order to keep them neat: For the Stables to be built in a long, strait line, is not so graceful; let each Stable then consist of two Circles, in form of a *Greek Gamma*  $\Gamma$ , thus: For in this Position or Figure they will look like two Piles or grand Wings of Out-building, inclosing the Approach to the House with great State: So that the two Stables extending themselves in Front on either side the Dwelling-House, the whole Front of Building, *viz.* Stables, Dwelling-House, with their interjacent Passages, will be about Two hundred and twenty Paces wide; which interjacent Passages betwixt the Stables and the First or Outward-Court Walls, require, I say, to be Palisade-work; as likewise a long Pale or Rail-work of the same Figure and Shape, running across from the end of one Stable to the end of the other, with double Gates in the middle, opposite to the Entrances of the Court, would be very convenient and graceful.

It will be convenient likewise for the House, as also for Strangers, if there be a pretty neat Inn built at a little distance from the end of one Stable, and this for the Accommodation of such as have recourse to my Lord; and at the like distance from the end of the other Stable,

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Stable, a fair Dog-Kennel, with its Appurtenances and Lodgings for the Keeper and Huntsmen: Below each Stable let there be a fair Fish-Pond, for watering the Horses when they are breath'd about the Lawns; which Ponds should be grac'd with Swans and other Fowl, and being abundantly supplied with the Waters running continually from the Fountains of the Gardens and higher Grounds, will be extraordinary fat from the Common Draughts and Swill of the House. I could wish, I confess, much more Fountain-Ornaments than what I speak of in this Design; but when I consider the Nature of our Climate, we cannot be so liberal this way as would otherwise be required for the Beauty of a Noble Seat: For the Frosts are long, and our Soil generally moist and weeping in the Winter; so that the Pipes will be oftentimes in disorder, and to be opening the Ground perhaps under the very Foundations of the Building, would be a thing of great Expence, Trouble, and Hazard; tho' it must be said too, that we having Lead in good store, such Expences will be less chargeable. Many Fountains likewise in a Garden, especially in our cold Region, will chill the Ground, and be a Hindrance to the Growth of choicer Plants, if the Water be not very carefully convey'd under Ground by Pipes accurately foldred, and of a just Diameter: Tho' so few as are here design'd, may, without dispute, be us'd and preserv'd without any considerable Damage or Hazard, especially when we consider

sider the declining Posture of the Ground in all the Gardens and Courts ; by which means the Current will be very Natural, and one Fountain feed or supply another.

From the Dwelling-House let us, in the next place, take a Walk along the Grand Avenue to the Gate or Entrance of the Park, of which I spake at the beginning ; where must be a Grange or Farm, with other Buildings, for the Use and Service of our Country Mansion : For it cannot be imagin'd that the Port and Expences of a Nobleman's Family can be supplied by the Clouds, tho' they drop never so much Fatness. — And the many Artificers and Labourers depending upon such a Structure, must of necessity require some suitable Provision to be made for them also. This Design or Building therefore which I mention in the last place, ought to be perfected in the First ; forasmuch as before we build a House we ought to have a Place of Accommodation for the Workmen and Labourers who are to build it : And before any such Project be thought upon, the Undertaker ought to be provided with a Country which does abound with good store of Timber, as also with Stone, Lime, Ground fit to make Brick, and above all, as I said at the beginning, to be near a Navigable River ; for without these Circumstances, so great a Design will fall to the Ground before it be brought above Ground.



At the Entrance of the Park therefore I would have a little Town or Village, consisting of about thirty or forty Houses, built or rang'd in one streight Street, leading to the Park-Gate; the Building to be low, uniform, and suitable for such as may inhåbite them, as Carpenters, Masons, Plaisterers, a Glasier and Plummer, Smiths, as Lock-smith, Gun-smith, and for Tools and Implements of Husbandry, a Wheelwright, Sadler, Taylor, Shooe-maker, Mercer or Chandler, a Butcher; in a word, for all sorts of Artificers and Labourers, which any Nobleman's House can stand in need of. Some perhaps may think it to be more expedient to have such Artificers inroll'd in the Number of the Domesticks, or those who unite in Liveries. I grant indeed there ought to be an Employment for every Fellow who attends upon a Nobleman, besides that of eating and drinking, and waiting upon his Lord now and then at the tail of a Coach: For there is no greater Bane to a Nobleman than to have a Troop of unprofitable, idle Lobcocks, or Rogues always at his Heels; for such being never inur'd to Labour, or Business, when once they are purg'd out of the Family, betake themselves to Gaming, Ale-house-keeping, sharking, or padding upon the Road, or perhaps have the Honour to be knock'd on the Head in Soldiers Coats. Such Servants as these were the Dogs who devour'd  
*Attaeon:* Let them be imploy'd therefore in the Gardens, in the Kitchens, Stables, and

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and about the Game: For as for Artificers, if they be not in a settled Estate, such as that of Marriage, or of House-keepers, they will upon every turn be taking a rambling Frisk, and leave their Lord in the lurch. The best way therefore is to settle them in a Village, as I have describ'd, where they may have a comfortable Subsistence with their Wives and Children, and be always at hand to serve their Patron's Occasions, and to confer with one another upon the common Concerns of the Family they depend on, living in a provident, industrious and reputable manner; and to this End I would not by any means have an Inn or Ale-house in any such our Village; for this will soon tempt them to Idleness and Wast: And if they were once in two Years to be rigg'd out in a Livery, 'twould add Splendour to their Lord, and be an Engagement on them to stick to his Service.

In the midst of the Street I am now speaking of, I would have two other Buildings on either side, running out in form of a Cross, *viz.* a Grauge or Farm on the one side, and on the other an Hospital, with a neat Church or Chapel, that so my Lord might remember, as he receives Blessings on the one hand, it is his Duty to repay something to God Almighty on the other.

The Grange or Farm-House should have three sides of building, and the fourth side open towards the street. I would have the Farm to Consist of Six Teems and Consequently

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quently twelve Men Servants besides a Head Bayliff or Steward to Oversee them, and to keep an Account of all the Productions of the Farm, and how deliver'd out. In this Grange there must be all Conveniencies for Maultery, Dairy, Brewing and Baking: For from hence all my Nobleman's Provisions must come as the Occasions of the house shall require, for to encumber a Palace herewith would be an Intolerable Annoyance. Besides Herds and Plowmen there must be a sufficient Number of Servants likewise for the Dairy, for Brewing, for Baking and for other occasions of the Grange, at the least eight Females, over which 'twere convenient there should be an Ancient Matron of Honesty and Experience appointed, and to Govern these Affairs. The whole Number of such Servants then cannot be less than Twenty five: All the Men Servants to lie two and two in one common Room, near whom the Head-Bayliff, or Steward rather, ought to have a fitting Lodging with a Room to keep his Accounts. The upper Rooms of the Grange to be for Granaries, Maulting Rooms and other Store-Houses with thorough Lights: Behind the Farm-House must lie the Stable and Out-Houses rang'd in a Convenient Order, together with a large Dove-House, and Ponds for tame Fowl, and for the occasions of Cattle.

As for Orchards or Plantations of Fruit-Trees, having spoken already to this point, I shall only hint, that if the Soil were pro-

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per for it, I would have the Fruit-Trees planted in long Walks, as it is in *Normandy*; for this looks much more suitable to the Grandeur of a Noble Seat, tho' I fear such Trees in our Country would not be very prosperous as being too much expos'd to the weather: However, if Fruit Trees be not planted, 'twould be very Convenient and Ornamental to have such Walks in length and Crossways, of Lime-Trees, Elms, Oaks, and the like: For to see the Campain without Garniture would look a little too bald, and to have it choakt up with little Enclosures would look too Yeoman-like, and would be a disturbance to Recreations of the Field, as Hawking and Hunting, and be stoppage also to the wholesome Air, and to the Prospect of the remoter Countrys.

There must likewise be store of Fish-Ponds: For there will be sufficient Water for these running daily from the Gardens and Offices of the Palace and the Ground about it. The Fish-Ponds must be design'd one below another, some for stews, some for feeding, and some for spawning. The Spawning-Pools must be but little, and every Three years New ones to be made in another place: For in a little piece of Ground freshly broke up, Fish will multiply prodigiously for the First year, the next year less, and in the third year the Spawning-Pool will be good for little, the strength and Nutritive Virtue of the fresh Earth being spent.

Among

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Amongst our Pools, I would have one if possible for Pikes; for 'tis an excellent Fish, tho' destructive of the other Fry, nor apt to thrive in a Pond unless fed with a good Current. Carps, Tench, Perch, Roch and Gudgeons should be the main Stock of our Pools; and one Caution ought to be given *viz.* Never to break the Ice in case of a severe Frost, which Thing indeed is Contrary to the Common Practice: For I found by Experience, that in the year 1683 (one of the severest for Frost we have ever known in *England*) that all my Fish died in those Ponds where I brake the Ice, only in a little Pool or Pit which I took no care of, believing it to be frozen to the Bottom, there the Fish all escap'd and grew Extraordinary: The Reason for their Growth was the same with that for there Preservation: For as I conceive, there are many nitrous particles or kinds of spirits issuing continually through the Body of the Earth, from which nitrous Exhalations or Atoms all Things derive a seminal virtue, and have there accretion; so that the Rigorous Season sealing up all the Exteriour Passages and Pores of the Earth, and covering the Water too with a thick coat of Ice, impenetrable by the Air, and through which such Exhalations cannot pass, the Fish by this means receive much more Nourishment than at other Times, the Bottoms and Sides of the Pool which lie under the Ice being free to admit of such perspirati-

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on which cannot fly out into the open Air as at other times, by reason of the congeal'd Surface of the Water ; and this is the true Reason of *Juvenal's* Observation of some sorts of Fish that they were *longo frigore pingues* ; and upon the same Account it is likewise that Fish are found in the Northern Seas in much greater Numbers and of a larger Bulk than in the Southern. And truly I can averr it upon my own Experience, that after the severe Winter before-mention'd, when the Ice was thaw'd, I took out of my Pools Carps big with Spawn some 14 some 16 Inches long, which the Summer before were not above 4 or 5 Inches in length ; so that they grew 10 or 11 Inches, or better, in Eight Months space, which could proceed from nothing but the Extremity of the Cold. The Reason why Fish turn up their Bellies and die upon the breaking of a Pool, is this : When a hole is made in the Ice, the compress'd Water flows out thereat in a full Stream or Gush : This Motion of the Water upon the Inlet of fresh Air draws the Fish to the breach from out of there Banks or Holds where they lay warm, tho much incommoded for want of Air, which the closeness of the surface would not allow them : Coming therefore to the broken places for Respiration, the excessive coldness of the Air presently benumbing them, and deprives them of sense and afterwards of life. This they who pretend to stealing of Fish understand too well, and the less the hole



is, so a man can but turn and wind his hand in it, the greater will be the crowd of Fish about it, and consequently they will fall more easily within the Clutches of such Fish-Mongers. There's no Expedient therefore better than not to break the Ice at all in case of an extraordinary Frost. As for other Observations relating to a Farm, they have been briefly glanc'd upon in the foregoing Chapters.

From the Grange or Farm-House, let us cross over the way towards the Church or Hospital: let the Hospital then consist of two sides, one for Maim'd or Aged Men, whether Widowers or such as were never Married: The other side for Women under the same circumstances, whether Virgins or Widows; for married Couples will never accord with the Orders of a Publick Hospital. Let there be Chambers for Twelve Men and for as many Women their Cells to be on the Ground-Floor, let each Cell consist of Two little Rooms with convenient Out-let and a little Garden. On each side of the Hospital let there be a little Refectory where they shall Eat in a Collegiate way, with a Common Kitchen and Cellar to each side likewise: All to be manag'd by the care of some pious decay'd Gentlewoman or Matron with her Servants, which Matron or Governess also is to have convenient Lodgings and Maintenance for her Care and Labour.

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At the upper Side and in the Front of this Hospital, but at some convenient distance from it, let there be a little Church or Chapel, competently endow'd for the maintenance of a grave and pious Divine, who may have his Lodgings at the end of the old Mens Apartment and towards the Church. 'Tis his business to read Prayers twice a day in the Church, to observe the Fasts and Feasts as they are appointed in the Liturgy; as also to Instruct the Members of the Hospital, together with the Youth of the Village or Neighbourhood, in a vertuous way, and to preach likewise on *Sundays*. I would not have such a Person to be incumbred with Tythes, but to be provided for by a Salary, or by the Annexing of some part of the Parochial Dues for his Support, by the Favour and Authority of the Bishop, or in case it should be an Impropriation (as generally it happens in all the Capital Mannours of great Noblemen) it would be in the Power, I may say it would be the Duty, of such a Patron to make all suitable Provision, annexing the Parsonage to such a Church.

As for making such a Village to be a Market Town or to have the benefit of Fairs, I do not much approve of it: Such a Design indeed would draw more concourse of People, but withall 'twould make the place more noisie and dirty, and divert the Inhabitants from attending the Service of their Soul, however it might tend to their own private Profits and Advantage: For so it is, that I would have all the Families of this little Village to be maintain'd by thier Labour in the Employment and Services of him to whom they do belong, who likewise, as such Artificers or Labourers do decay in Age and Fortune, may dispose of them into his Hospital, there to end there days in Piety and Peace.

Thus

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Thus have I made a rough Draught or Design of a Country-House according to the Idea in my own Mind: It is not my business to warrant this Model by all the Rules of Architecture and of Art. 'Tis sufficient to my purpose that I have given a General Scheme, which, with a little Amendments or Alteration, will stand together in some tolerable Figure, and answer our Expectation as to the Innocent Pleasures and Delights which the Country can afford.

'Tis True, all Countrys do not afford us the Natural Advantages for such a Seat as I have now describ'd; nor indeed are there many Persons to be found who have such a largeness of Mind and Fortune as to undertake and finish a Design of such expence. However, some there are, who as their Fortunes lie without the streighter limits of Anxiety and Care, so are they privileg'd from the Vexations of a Busie Life, and have therefore Means and Leisure in some measure or other to employ their Time, and to spend their days amidst the Enjoyments of Retreat.

What is said in this kind is not to be understood in Justification of those who abandon themselves to a supine and sleepy course of life, retiring to their Country-Houses as to a Seraglio, where they pass their Time in all manner of Sensuality, or Beastiality rather, as did *Sardanapalas* of old, and *Tiberius* in the Isle of *Copias*, sheltering their enormous Lusts from the Observation of the World under the Masque of a sequester'd life. No, no; such Brutes have always met with their Rewards, feeding and fatning within their Stys in order only to their Slaughter: The True design then of such Places of Pleasure and Retreat is to sweeten the Fatigues both of the Body and of the Mind, and to recover us to our former Bent of Duty, which is but in some measure to restore Man to his lost Station: For God doubtless

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would never have placed him in a Paradise, had not a Garden of Pleasure been Consistent with Innocence; which being once forfeited, to drudge and labour amongst the Thorns and Briers were to be his Punishment, and even the very Employment of his life. *Solomon*, after he had built stately Palaces adorn'd with Orchards, Vineyards, Pools, Gardens, and with other Ornaments of Pomp and Grandeur tells us, *Ecclef. 2.* That all this was done by him even then when he was under the conduct of Wisdom; which shews plainly, that the greatest Souls, and such as are divinely inspir'd, may seek content from Temporal Blessings, tho' with *Solomon* too they must Remember, that all such Delights are Vanity, as are all other contrivances and enjoyments whatsoever compar'd with what is truly durable and solid.

Some Men who are born to great Fortunes may not have those Qualifications which may recommend them to Publick Employments, or Offices of State: They may want an Insinuating Address, Heat of Spirit, Boldness, or perhaps a ready and refin'd Capacity to understand Intrigues, and to turn and wind through all the Labyrinths of a Court: Or if they be duly qualified, they may have perhaps more Prudence than to hazard the Fortunes they were born to upon the slippery Chances of a State-Interest, or upon the Unconstant Favours of a Prince who may himself be the Sport possibly of Fortune; or peradventure, tho they be never so happy in the Air of a Court, they may still be obnoxious to popular Disgusts, which generally prove fatal. They indeed who have little to lose may venture, and possibly make there Fortunes: But one born to a flourishing Estate, can rarely improve his Fortune this way, but after all his Travels and Services is in a very fair Post of wasting it. How many are there of these seeming-happy Darlings of Princes and Subjects

jects, who sink every day under the weight of their Golden Chains? or if they arrive through a continual Series of Honours and Success to old Age, yet then how grateful must it be to humane Nature, overworn with Business to find a place of Repose! So that the ablest Statesmen, even in the highest Tide of Prosperity, are glad to recollect there Spirits a little by withdrawing themselves ever and anon from the Noise, Ceremonies, and Intrigues of a splended but fallacious Attendance, where they themselves waste there Days, and I may say Nights too, in contriving to undermine Others, who at the same Time are no less vigilant to return the like Kindness into their own Bosoms: Whereas a Nobleman or a Gentleman in his Country-House has all within his Territory at his Command, and in subjection either to his Courtesie or Power. He wants no Pleasure which Man can reasonably propose. His Enjoyments are without Competition or Jealousie, and such as advance the Health of his Body as well as the Content of his Mind: He lies out of sight of those more Expensive Temptations to which a City-Conversation is Obnoxious, and in lieu thereof lets the Overflowings of his Estate spread it self in a laudable Hospitality, by which he creates to himself a firm Interest in the Affections of his Country, which will be always at hand to second him upon occasion. Besides; it looks great in a Man, and carries something of a divine Character stampd upon it, to be able to frame a Building after the Idea he has within himself; that is, to be able to give a durable Existence to something which was not before, and to adorn it with all the Graces of Symmetry and Beauty.

And if he be a Man of a Contemplative Genius, the Seat of his House cannot but suggest manlike Thoughts. The same Eminence of Ground which displays the Beauties of the Earth by day entertains

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him with a much larger and more beautiful Prospect of the Heavens by night, which may direct his desires towards a more glorious and more lasting Mansion. The Variety of Flowers beautiful and fragrant, with which his Gardens are adorn'd, opening themselves and dying one after another, must admonish him of the fading state of Earthly Pleasures, of the frailty of life, and of the succeeding Generations to which he must give place. The constant Current of a Fountain or Rivolet must mind him of the Flux of Time which never returns, nor causes to run on, till it ends in Immensity. But if he find Fastidiousness amidst Fruition, as it happens usually in the greatest Pleasures (those excepted of the Mind) he may then recollect himself and think, That since such Pleasures are unsatisfactory and transitory, the Mind is yet capable of farther Enjoyments more durable and sincere, which since it cannot meet with amidst earthly Divertisements, it must look for a plentiful Entertainment in another Region.

Upon this Consideration, doubtless, 'twas that many brave Men, especially of the middle Age (so much Condemn'd as it was for Blindness and Superstition) did voluntarily exchange the Pomp and Grandeur of Life for the surest and chaste Delights of Retirement; and even at this day we may observe how the most rigid Orders of the Monastick State or Institution do sweeten all their Severities with the calm and Innocent Refreshments of a Garden. So that the little Partitions of a Carthusian's Cell may yield as much Pleasure and Content to a virtuous Mind as the Stupendious Fabricks, of the *Lowre* and the *Escorial*: For to speak truly, when we converse daily with Noble Structures, our Admiration becomes less by Acquaintance; so that 'tis not their Greatness but their Order which does ravish the Thought; which Beauty of Order may be found



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found in a little Model, as well as in the Voluminous Contrivances of Art. The little Wren has its pretty curious-Nest proportionable to its Body and Nature, and tho' humbly built, yet is it fram'd with as much accurateness, perhaps with more than that of the Eagle in the high Rocks, and on the Top of Mountains bordering on the Clouds.

A little, well design'd House, neatly kept, and seated in a good Air and a dry Soil, as likewise on the side of a Hill, with a shady Wood or Grove about it, and a pretty Spring or running Stream before it, may afford infinite delight to one who may carry a Generous and high born Soul under the Circumstances of a narrow Fortune. The Neighbouring Wood, as it yields him Fuel against the Severities of Winter, defends him from many a cold Storm and Blast; so does it relieve him by its Shades against the scorching Sun in Summer, and is to him as a continual Aviary. The sweet Stream running by his door serves not only the occasions of life, but murmuring amongst the Pebbles makes a grateful warbling noise altogether as pleasing, tho' not so thundering, as that of the *Girandola*. The Industry and Working of his little Bees, their elaborate Cells, with their constant Intercourse, may be as much Diversion to him, as it may be to the greatest Prince living to have the constant Visit of Friends with their numerous Trains about the Gates of his Palace. A Person of such an humble but advantageous Post is at no expence nor labour to suck in the wholesome Air; it comes into his doors freely, and of its own accord. The neighbouring Banks and Thickets yield him sweet smelling Flowers and Turfs suitable to the several seasons of the year, and for the service of Nature: His little Flocks of Sheep, with other such like Animals, requite his Care with constant supplies of Food and Raiment: All which and many other De-

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lights, attend him constantly without charge and travel, without disturbance and fear, without sneaking Attendance, Flattery and Envy, being plac'd in that middle Region of Happiness which lies above Oppression and Necessity, and below the Menaces and Storms to which higher Fortunes are expos'd. And if an open Prospect can yield Content, he is abundantly rewarded with the various Scenes of the under spacious Valley, where he beholds numberless Objects, with the remoter Seats and Habitations of others, chequer'd with light and shadows, answerable to the course of the Clouds and breakings-out of the Sun: All which succeeding one another in a constant Flux, cannot but shew him the Mutability of Fortune, or the Interchanges of Prosperity and Adversity to which the World under us is subject; and by this means he may reap Instruction for future Occurrences, whilst he enjoys the Blessings of his present Condition, and in his little Circle be as perfectly charm'd as he who is surrounded with the unmeasurable Blessings of Nature and Fortune, and with all the Contrivances of Art.

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*Upon the Fuel of London.*

HAVING entertain'd my Reader long enough at a Country-House, I shall now invite him to take a Walk in the City: For so it is, that even Things most innocent and pleasant, by lying within our daily Conversation, beget in us a kind of Aver-sion or Fastidiousness; so that to quicken our Ap-petite, we must make our Sawces salt and picquent, for without such helps the best Things would be-come too luscious and fulsome; like as we see in Musick, which would quickly nauseate, were it not for some Discords here and there artificially inter-mixt, to awaken the Hearers Attention, who would soon be cloy'd and sleepy with the continual Har-monings of Concords. But be it what it will be, one of these two Things is certain; for the Noise and Entertainment of the City must either be grate-ful or displeasing; if grateful, 'twill be satisfactory to abide a while with it; if displeasing, our return to the Country will give us more Content then be-fore.

The City then in which I purpose to wander a little, is the Metropolis of this Kingdom, which in many respects may challenge a Parity with, if not the Precedence of any City in *Europe*. I shall not make a large Discourse of it, by recounting its An-tiquity



tiquity and Priviledges, it's Wealth, Greatness and Government: I shall only take a Transient View of such Things as first occur to the Eye of a Stranger, who must readily confess, that it is adorn'd with many noble Advantages above any other City whatsoever. It is built upon a rising Ground or Bank which lifts it up above all the Injuries and Annoyances of Floods and Vapours, and being on the *North-side* the River, the Sun draws all the Fogs the other way: It is form'd to the Figure of the River like a Semi-circle or Crescent, javelling highest in the midst, where it is also beautified with one of the proudest Temples of *Europe*, whilst the City gently declining towards the extreams, it appears one of the goodliest Theatres in the Universe. On the *North-side* it enjoys a most serene and wholesome Air, lying open to a most fragrant and fruitful Valley of Pastures and Meadows always dry and fit for Walking, and replenished with infinite Numbers of Cattle of all sorts; beyond which at Three or Four Miles distance, lie the higher Grounds or Hills cover'd with *Villa's* or Houses of Pleasure; so that whosoever walks here must reap Health, as well as Delight.

The Scituation of this City all along declining or shelving towards the *Thames* is of infinite Advantage, not only in respect of Prospect, but likewise for keeping the City clean and neat; so that all the Filth and Ordure of the Streets and Kennels have a quick discharge into the River, the River also affording a quick and easie Conveyance of all Things from one Place to another with little Charge and Difficulty, which otherwise would not be brought about but with great Expence and Trouble.

The River it self in some respects is one of the noblest in *Europe*; at *London* it lies about threescore Miles from the Sea, and consequently out of Dan-

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ger of sudden Surprizes from unwholesome Fogs and Air, or of having a brackish and briny Water so much destructive to Health; and yet it brings up whole Fleets of greatest Burthen, whether they be those of War or Traffick, and is cover'd always with such Ships laden with inestimable Riches from all Quarters of the World. And as the Tide does plentifully furnish us with all Foreign Blessings, and with such as are to be found in the Country which lies below the City, so the natural Stream or Current of the River does float down all the Commodities and Provisions of what kind soever, that are of *English* growth. So that all manner of Blessings, whether of Art or Nature, whether from Home or from Abroad are still flowing in upon this City both from above and below it with full Stream and Tide: Whilst the River it self is cover'd always with infinite Numbers of little Boats, and upon the Banks of it for many Miles upwards and downwards, there are a vast Number of stately Buildings and little Towns, being in a manner nothing but a Continuation of Palaces, or Houses of Pleasure; so that each Village would in any other Place pass for a beautiful City. All the Royal Palaces or Buildings are seated on the Banks of this River, amongst which the Royal Castle at *Windsor*, is one of the most superb Fabricks which can any where be seen, whether in regard of the Beauty and Greatness of the Building, or its noble and lofty Scituation.

Besides all this, the Roads leading to this City are gravelly, streight, large and level, and firm, and smooth at the Bottom, and yet the Fields and Meadows thereon bordering are most Fat and Luxuriant, a Thing we shall very rarely meet with: For the richest Countries are generally the most Dirty; and indeed the Country about *London*, were it other then what it is, 'twere impossible such a constant intercourse of Horses and Carriages should long continue.



tinue. Upon all which Considerations, we may safely affirm, that *London* can stand no where but where it does, and that *Constantinople* perhaps excepted, there is no place to be found which does afford such Conveniencies for a great and noble City as *London* does.

And truly, if we look within the City, it has many singular Beauties. It does not abound indeed with such stately Palaces, as other Places boast of: But for the *Burghoisie*, or the Merchant-like part of it, it is equal to the best. The principal Streets, especially those built since the Conflagration, are most Magnificent, the Shops fair and richly furnish'd, and the Broad Pav'd Ways on each side guarded with *Piliers* or *Barriers* to keep off Coaches and Carriages from incommoding the Foot-Passengers, are wonderful Convenient, and the walking upon the Broad Pavement is extraordinary easie and pleasant. The continual Range of over-hanging *Balconeys*, is not only graceful and ornamental, but useful also to shelter those who walk under them, from the Inconveniencies of the Sun and of the Moon, as they are Commodious for the Inhabitants when they would take a View of the Streets, and of whatsoever occurs that way.

There is no City in the World can shew so many Noble *Piazza's*, so large, so beautiful, and so regularly Built; it does abound with curious Walks, as that of *St. James's Park*, those of the Inns of Court, and others, besides the many Gardens and Entertainments of the River. 'Tis beautified with many noble Structures; the stupendous Fabrick of *St. Paul's*, the *Royal Exchange*, the Pillar near the *Bridge*, as also the *Bridge* it self, together with *Westminster-Abbey*, and the *Hall* adjoining, and many other Monuments are of that Greatness and Solidity, as will not easily be out-fac'd by Time. The Town-house, as also the several Halls or Colledges of

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of the several Companies of Merchants and Artificers, are most stately Buildings; and truly no City in the World can shew such Cabarets or Taverns as can *London*: These would pass for Palaces in other Countries, to such a Degree of Pomp and Splendour is Ryot and Drinking arriv'd; but whether this be to its Commendation or no, I dare not determine.

And now having said all this in Commendation of *London*, I shall add but one Word more, which in short is this: That of all the Cities perhaps in *Europe*, there is not a more nasty and a more unpleasant Place. I shall not enlarge upon the Exorbitancies of the City, nor declaim against the dear Rascally sorts of Liquor whether Foreign or Home-spun, together with the Excessive Rates of most Provisions in the midst of so much Plenty, by which means Cooks, Vintners, Victuallers, Ale-house-keepers, Coffee-Merchants, with such like Irreputable Traders acquire vast Estates quickly, and are treated by those who frequent there Houses with Terms of Condescension and Courtesie, upon hopes purely of being favour'd with something which may not Poyson 'em. I say, these and such like Disorders would take up too much Time to reflect upon, only I must, with my Readers Patience crave leave to enlarge a little upon one, which if redress'd would extreamly Contribute to the Benefit and Beauty of this City; and if continu'd, will still leave it expos'd to many fatal Inconveniencies, I mean the burning of Sea-Coal.

This indeed is that one great Nuisance which sullies all the Beauties of this City, being such as may be seen, felt, smelt, and tasted at some Miles distance, so obvious is it to all our Senses: This is that which makes all the Entrances into this City to be so noisome. The great Heaps, or Mountains rather, of Cole-Dust, upon the least puff of Wind

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(like the Sands in *Arabia*) invade and cover all Places; and lying (as they for the most part do) in or near the High-ways; upon the fall of Rain they render the Roads insufferably black and dirty; so that a Man, if he would Ride a Mile or Two to take the Air, must be harnas'd *Cap-a-Pied*, and wade sometimes to his Horses Belly almost in this rich Balsamick Compound, and be as dirty as a Carrier, and although he came but from *Hackney* or *High-Gate*, he shall be dappled and bespatter'd as if he had rode Post from *York*. And as this is generally the Case in the Winter-Time, so in the Summer 'tis altogether as Incommodious, the Neighbouring Roads being fill'd with Clouds of Coal-Dust, and when Men think to take the sweet Air, they Suck into their Lungs this Sulphurous stinking Powder, strong enough to provoke Sneezing in one fall'n into an Apoplexy. From whence comes all those Rheums, Coughs, and Consumptions, which so universally afflict the Inhabitants of this Place, especially such as have not been accustomed to so gross an Air.

And such truly is the Corroding Quality of this Smoak, that the hardest Things in Nature, or made by Art, cannot resist it; witness the Bars and Casements of Windows, the Balconies, with all sorts of Iron-work, which though never so well Oil'd and Polish'd, will in a few Years become Eaten and Mouldring with Rust, and must after a short Time be renew'd to become fresh Fuel for this all-devouring Smoak. The Stones themselves run the same Fate, witness *St. Peters* in *Westminster*, the Buildings in the *Strand*, as *Somerset-House*, the *Savoy*, the *New-Exchange*, *Northumberland-House*, with the more Ancient Buildings of *White-Hall*, all which are eaten away, peel'd and fley'd as I may say to the very Bones by this hellish and subterraneous Flume. The vast Number of Coal-dust

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Carts trodding up and down the Town, perpetually scatter very liberally of their precious Cargo in the Streets, which all that walk along may partake of freely and welcome, the Streets receiving the overplus; by which means they become most intolerable Dirty upon the least showre of Rain, and as much plagu'd with Dust in dry Weather: From whence it is, that the Complexions of Men and Women too, if they do not wash and daub, are soon tarnish'd and become Sooty.

'Twere endless to reckon up all the Mischiefs which Houses suffer hereby in their Furniture, their Plate, their Brass and Pewter, their Glass, with whatsoever is solid and refin'd, all which are Corroded by it. A Bed of Fourscore or one Hundred Pounds Price, after a dozen Years or so, must be laid aside as sullied by the Smoak, which in the Country might have been preserv'd fresh, and in its Primitive Lustre for many Ages. All sorts of Hangings, especially Tapestry, are in a few Years totally defil'd by it, losing their Beauty, and stinking richly into the Bargain, as may be seen or smelt, rather in all the Hangings almost of Ordinary Houses: Hence it is, that of latter Years they choose rather to make use of Wainscot to line their Walls with, though this too is quickly found to loose its Beauty. All Gildings, Pictures, Utensils; in a Word, all manner of Furniture whatsoever, though never so great Care be us'd, do suffer extreamly by this Tartanous Smoak, as do also all Private Persons, those especially of better Fashion, in their Apparel; so that Hats, Linnen, Perriwigs, Wearing-Cloaths, Silks, with all Things of this Nature presently turn Russet, and loose their Gloss and Beauty.

Nay so piercing is this smoak, that it works it self betwixt the joints of Bricks, and eats out the Mortar; so that what was Fresh and Beautiful

Twen-



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Twenty or Thirty years ago, now looks Black, Old and Decay'd, as appears in the Buildings about *Hatton-Gardens*, and up and down *Holborn*, *Bloomsbury*, and elsewhere. Upon this Account it is, that once in an Age or Two there must be Rebuilding, or continual Repairing in a manner the whole City, which must needs mortifie the Inhabitants, with a continual Embarris of Carts, loaden with Brick and Rubbish, and render the City (as we see it do's upon the matter) fit for nothing but Scavengers. And what is more to be lamented then all the rest, the glorious Fabrick of *St. Paul's* now in building, so Stately and Beautiful as it is, will after an Age or Two, look old and discolour'd before 'tis finish'd, and may suffer perhaps as much dammage by the Smoak, as the former Temple did by the Fire. For 'tis impossible but channell'd Pillars with so much Carving, as is about the Cornish and Porches of this Church, should be furr'd and sooty by the Smoak sticking to it, and in a short time be defac'd. Upon which account perhaps it might have been more convenient, that the Outside of this sumptuous Pile had been of a plainer mould.

By reason likewise of this Smoak it is, that the Air of the City, especially in the Winter time, is rendred very unwholsome: For in case there be no Wind, and especially in Frosty Weather, the City is cover'd with a thick *Brouillard* or Cloud, which the force of the Winter-Sun is not able to scatter; so that the Inhabitants thereby suffer under a dead benumbing Cold, being in a manner totally depriv'd of the warmth and comforts of the Day: To remedy which Disaster they are forc'd to make more Fires than ordinary, so that the more Fire the more Smoak; and the more Smoak the more need of Fire; when yet to them who are but a Mile out of Town, the Air is sharp, clear and healthy, and the Sun most comfortable and reviving.

These

These and many other such mischievous Effects are the unavoidable Consequences of this sort of Fuel. The Remedy whereof can be no other than the burning of Wood and Charcoal, in the place of that Coal which is dug out of the Earth: but whether this be practicable or no, is a matter which will require a further Examination under these three General Points. The First is what Quantity of Wood may probably be sufficient, to serve the occasions of so vast a City? Next, whether such a sufficient Quantity may be found for this occasion? And Lastly, Whether the Profit and Benefit arising from this Exchange of Fuel, be greater than the Damage we may suffer by a want of Sea-Coal?

To understand what Quantity of Fuel may be sufficient for this great City, we must enquire into its Bigness, the Number of its Inhabitants, and the Circumstances of the Climate. As to the Bigness of *London*, 'tis without dispute Greater by one Third, than it was before the Conflagration: For upon that General Deluge (as I may say) of Fire, so many hands were employ'd in the Repair of it, and such a confluence was there likewise of Workmen, from all quarters of the Kingdom, and from abroad, that Men soon acquir'd a deep insight and great experience, in the Art of Contriving and Building, and every Carpenter almost and Bricklayer became an Undertaker. And when the Ruins were Repair'd, that they might keep themselves Employ'd they made use of all Inventions whatsoever, to engage men into farther Labyrinths of Building, making shew every where of new Commodious Contrivances, as also of Cheaper Methods. So that a House now-a-days may be Built at half the Expence it would have Cost Thirty years ago. And such an Emulation was there and is there still

amongst Men, as to the Elegancy and Convenience of Building, that what was formerly lookt upon to be very Beautiful, is now rejected as Contemptible and Antick, and fit only to be pull'd down, to make way for something more Gentile and Modish. And yet for all this, I am very confident that the City as to the Number of the Inhabitants, is not bigger than it was heretofore: For we may easily perceive many quarters of it to be very thin, by having its Inhabitants drain'd away to replenish the new Buildings, which yet are but very indifferently replenish'd.

The Number of its Inhabitants as near as may be guess'd at, may amount probably to Four or Five Hundred Thousand, comprehending therein Men, Women and Children, of which one fourth may be suppos'd to belong to the Country, being Commers and Goers, and drawn thither upon the account of Business or Pleasure; which Number is still greater or less as the Seasons of the Year, or of Business, are more or less inviting. The most rational way of guessing at its Inhabitants is from the Bills of Mortality, which one week with another may amount to Four Hundred, or yearly to Twenty three Thousand and upwards, which in the space of Twenty years (the Common measure of an Age) may amount, I say, in the Summ Total, to the Number of Four or Five Hundred Thousand.

The Number of Houses as they stand at present in the City and Precincts of *London, Westminster* and *Southwark*, may be computed to amount to Forty Thousand: For as for the greater Buildings or Houses, such as the Palace Royal, the Inns of Court, of Chancery, and some Noblemen's Houses, they must not here be reckoned as single Foundations or Houses, since some of them may contain the Building



ding of Twenty, Forty, or perhaps one Hundred private Houses, of the middle Order, such as those which belong to Tradesmen or Shop-keepers. Let the Common standard therefore or measure of a House be such an one as contains Nine Chimnies, for where there is One that hath more, there are Five which have less: so that the excess *viz.* of the greater Houses on the one hand weigh'd against the defect on the other, *viz.* the great Number of small Buildings in private Allies and the Out-Skirts of the City, most of which have not above Five or Six Chimnies to a House, I say, upon such an Allowance (as is here made) we may reasonably pitch upon Nine Chimnies to be the common proportion of every House one with another; and than the Summ Total of the Chimnies may be about Three Hundred and Sixty Thousand.

If we allow yearly therefore to every Chimney, one good Load of Wood or Charcoal, or something more, we shall find that *London* will require about Four Hundred Thousand Loads of Wood yearly to supply its occasions: And from this too we may make a considerable defalkment, when we shall consider what a great Number there are of Brewers, Dyers, Hatters, with such like Smoaky Occupations, all which require a stronger and more constant heat, such as that of Sea-Coal-Fires: Which Professions also being noysom in themselves and dangerous to their Neighbours, upon the account of the many Casualties of Fire to which they are more obnoxious, it would be very safe and convenient if they were oblig'd to Settle on the farther side the Water, which would very much contribute to the Health and Security of the City: So that upon an allowance of our Furnace-Gentlemen, to use Sea-Coal, as also for the Sons of *Vulcan*, our little Forge-men and Smiths which require

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quire to be dispers'd up and down the Town to some necessary occasions, we may reasonably believe that about three Hundred and Fifty Thousand good Loads of Wood of a Tun to each Load, will be sufficient to answer the occasions of this City.

'Tis true, a Nobleman's House, and where there is much of the Kitchen, will require Thirty or Forty Loads of Wood, but then we must Consider, that for one Nobleman's House there are Eight or Ten smaller Houses of about Four or Five Chimnies, which will be supplied with Four or Five Loads commodiously; so that regard being had still to the proportion of the House, the Quantity of Wood before mention'd will be sufficient; and so much the rather, because that in the Summer time most of the Nobility and Gentry retire into the Country.

Our next Enquiry then will be, where to find such a Quantity of Wood as is here pitch'd upon? To this end and purpose we are to consider in the First place, what quantity of Wood grows usually upon an Acre of Ground. An Acre then of Coppice-Wood of about Twelve or Thirteen years growth, if moderately well stor'd, will yield about Threescore Cords or Loads of Wood, each Cord or Load being Eight Foot in length, Five Foot Six Inches in height, and Three Foot in thickness or length of the Billet closely laid together; so that one Acre of good Wood-Land will yield yearly about Five Loads of Wood more or less, and then we shall find, that about Sixty Thousand Acres of Land well planted with Wood, will afford us the quantity we are now seeking. These parts of *Suffex* and *Kent*, which lie betwixt *Tunbridge Wells* and *Rye*, which is about Thirty miles in length, and of a bredth proportionable, are almost all Woods,



Woods, Great part of *Buckinghamshire*, of *Oxfordshire* and *Barkshire* abound with vast Numbers of Woods: The like may be said also of other places bordering upon the Roads of *London*, from all which places to *London* we have a most easie conveyance by Water, as well upwards by the Tide, as downwards by the Stream: For so it is, that the parts nearest bordering on the *Thames* and *Medway* are most productive of Wood; or if there be occasion for a Land-carriage, so hard, so capacious and level are the Roads as are no where to be found in any other part of *England*.

What quantity of Wood this may amount to is hard to compute; but without all dispute it far exceeds the Quantity requir'd to serve the occasions of *London*, especially if the Iron-works, those great devourers of Wood, were made to keep their due distance. But in regard that *London* is not the only mouth which is to be fed with this fiery food, there beeing some Consideration to be had to the Necessities and Occasions of the Neighbouring places, we must be allow'd more Ground than what is at this day planted with Wood, and this we shall not be long a seeking for, if we consider of the great number of Heaths, waste Grounds and Commons, which lie every way within Twenty or Thirty Miles of *London*. It may reasonably be computed to be Fifteen or Twenty Thousand Acres, all which at present is not worth Five Shillings an Acre, being stock'd only with rascally Sheep and Geese.

Let us suppose then an Act of Parliament to be rais'd in favour of this, or some such like Design, (For without the All-mightiness of a Parliament no Great and Publick Work can ever come to any Maturity: ) this Project then must be built upon these Grounds, and First, In order to an Enclosure let all the Rights and Privileges of the Com-



moners, be brought in at such a Rate or Purchase, as the Supreme Authority of the Nation shall think fit: For to deprive any one of his Right and Priviledge without due Compensation made is very unjust, as doubtless 'tis most just so to do when it shall redound to the greater Benefit of the Public, without any detriment to the particular Persons concern'd. Secondly, such enclosed Wastes or Commons to be carefully preserv'd by more than ordinary Provisions, to prevent tumultuary Invasions of mobling Levellers, as likewise the clandestine Havocks to which such Enclosures (especially near so Populous a City) are very Obnoxious. To this end and purpose 'twould be convenient, that every Gentleman or Nobleman herein concern'd, over and above the subservient Labourers to be employ'd in Planting, Fencing, Defending, Dipping, Cutting, Cording, Coating and Carrying such Wood as from time to time should be upon the premises; I say it would be very Expedient, that to every Thousand Acres so planted, there should be a Capital Bayliff or Ranger, whose business it should be continually to visit the Woods under his care, and to give an Account of what may occur to his notice. Thirdly, that there be a standing Court or Body of Men, deputed every three years by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City; by the Stewards of *Westminster* and *Southwark*, and some others also by Parliament, to enquire into Frauds and Disorders; and to determine the Prizes of Wood throughout the City with its Penalties and dependencies; and in a word to Inspect and Regulate the whole affair.

And as to that particular Branch of Enclosing Common, 'twould certainly be a thing of the greatest Advantage that ever could be thought of, and that in respect of, First the Commoners themselves

selves, for besides the ready Summs of Money which so many Families would be enrich'd with, proportionably to their Stock and Interest (which certainly would turn to a greater profit than what is reap'd from a waste and uncultivated Common) there will be a constant provision likewise for a great Number of Poor Families who are now ready to steal or starve, having only their bare naked Pasture to feed upon, where they are exposed all the Winter long to pinching Winds and Hunger. Every Hundred Acres so Planted as is here design'd, will very well Employ and Maintain Four Families for ever, when such Woods shall be capable of Cutting; and in the raising of them, there will be continual Employment in Planting, and in making and repairing of Hedges, &c. so that the poorer sort of People will be double gainers by the Bargain.

Next for the Purchasers, 'tis as certain too, that their profit will be very Considerable: For the Ground which before was not worth a Noble an Acre, being Planted as 'tis here Projected, will yeild near upon Thirty Shillings an Acre for ever. And in the last place, the Public will reap Benefit by such Improvements not only in respect of that more copious supply which will be transmitted daily to the City, but in respect also of that Provision which may be made for Timber, especially in the Skirts or Outsidess of such Plantations: For the Government ought to have a prospect to future Ages; and to have Timber growing so near to our Naval Magazines would be a Thing of Inestimable Advantage; the want and decay whereof is that, which we shall every day be more sensible of than other. Lastly, 'tis for the Interest of the Common-Wealth, that Lands should be improv'd in Order to make the Public Burthen



more easie: For Ground of Thirty Shillings an Acre can bear Taxes more easily than that of seven or eight Shillings an Acre: And this reason will ever hold good, when the Dammage which some may receive, is inconsiderable in respect of the Advantage reap'd by others, and especially by the Publick.

What may be objected against this Project of Enclosures is, first, That by this means there will be a greater shelter for Thieves, and Robbers with which such Places are but too much infested. To this the Answer is easie, as to Robbers on the Highway, or the Bilbo-Blades, *breaking upon the Wheel* will be an undoubted Remedy, of which I have already spoken. Pardon likewise, and a Reward to such Robbers who shall discover their Fellows, will be a good prevention of their Confederacy, and create a Jealousie amongst them, or fear of one another. This was practis'd with very good Success by *Sextus Quintus*, who clear'd all the Ecclesiastick State of *Banditi* or *Proscripts*, by promising indemnity to every *Bandit* who should bring the Head of his fellow: whereupon they fell to cutting of one another's Throats, each labouring to prevent his Companion from making the first Experiment upon himself; and so not daring to trust one another, the Gang was soon broken, for singly they were not dangerous. As for petty Rogues, there is no great fear of them in the present Case. Mutton-Mongers would have little Employments, the Commons being unprovided with that Commodity, and for other pilfering Chapmen there will be then no more cause of fear than now, rather less; there being a full Employment for the poorer sort, and the Overseers of the Woods will be very useful also to observe the Disorders of those under their Care.

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Another Objection may be made from the noisomeness of so many Smoking Cole-Pits, which we may suppose to be continually employ'd for the charboning of Wood: But for the same reason there must be no Lime nor Brick made: For these things too are of an offensive Savour. Besides, Charboning of Cole is a thing which will not happen above once in Twelve or Thirteen Years, so that the inconvenience may easily be born with, and is incomparably less than the continual stink of the Sea-Coal Fires, which are so great an Annoyance to the Court, to the Nobility and Gentry, and in a word, to the most Considerable part of the Kingdom, whether we consider their Number or Quality.

Those who follow the Chase might possibly receive some prejudice as to freedom of Riding by such Enclosures: But on the other hand they would reap a greater Advantage from the preservation of the Game: For such Woods would ever be well furnished, and the Countries neighbouring upon *London*, is generally so open, and the Fields so large, that there is liberty enough for the Chase, without any inconveniency to the Rider, or to the Husbandman; but these are trivial Considerations, not worth our insisting on.

Let us then hasten forwards and consider, whether the Profit and Advantage arising to the Nation in general, and to *London* in particular, by burning of Wood, be greater than the Dammage they may sustain by the dis-usage of Sea-Coal: If we consider the Question with an eye to the Publick, it will be told us by the Coal-Merchants, that in the Fleets where such Provisions are brought, there are a great number of Boys and Seamen bred, who are so useful to us either for War or Traffick; also, that one Chaldron of Coal will yield as much  
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Heat as four Loads of Wood; and that were it not for Coal the poorer sort of *London* would perish. Likewise, that the use of Coal is the preservation of Wood, and consequently of Timber, for where great Woods are cut, many thrifty Trees, which in time would prove excellent Timber, are condemn'd to the Fire.

As touching the breeding of Seamen by the Coal-Voyages, 'tis certain that some advantage doth accrue to the Nation by that means; and certain 'tis too, that would we apply our selves to the Fishing-Trade, we might be furnisht with many more Seamen than those who ply betwixt *Newcastle* and *London*; as 'tis certain also, that the Fishing would bring us in more Profit than any other Undertaking whatsoever. But so it is, that we are contented to let our Neighbours Fish upon us (for the Net cannot well be avoided whilst the Waters are troubled) and then make them rich at our own Expence, by buying our own Fish of them, at such Rates as they shall be pleased to utter them: Which Point would deserve a little to be insisted on, were it not that the Manifold and Signal Blessings we have otherwise receiv'd of them, would lay us open to palpable Ingratitude, should we once offer to contest it with such generous, faithful and constant Friends, whose Benefits verily ought never to be forgotten. And yet, I fear, though we should apply our selves to Fishing, we should not be very successful at it, unless we could imitate them in their Industry, Parsimony, and their great Care and Diligence in Curing and Ordering such Fish: For these are the Three Principal Points which they have regard to who follow this Trade; which such will never be good at, who love to live in full Pasture and at Ease.

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But what will become of this Salt-Water Objection, if we suppose (as really we may without much peradventure) that were Wood the Statutable and Staple Fuel of *London*, many Ships would be employ'd in bringing Char-Coal by Sea from other parts of *England*, as *Hampshire, &c.* where such Provision might well be spared. But to come to our Colliers; Be it as it will be, were *London* alone allow'd or oblig'd to make use of Wood-Fuel, there would be a vast utterance of Sea-Coal along the *Thames*, and in all the Villages adjacent to *London*. And whereas Commodities which come by Sea are subject to Disappointments, so in time of War, should the Coal-Fleet be taken or obstructed, what then would become of *London*? But Wood being a Native of the Neighbourhood, could never fall a Prey to Pyrates, or be subject to Naval Attempts; and look what Provisions may be made one Year, will continue the same in all others succeeding, if the same quantity of Ground be yearly cut: For Wood is not like other Products of the Earth, as Grass, Corn, &c. which by immoderate Rains, or excessive Heats, or by many other Accidents, may become scarce and dear; but look what Profit a Coppice yields at one Fillet, 'twill yield the like at another, if of the same Growth, and duly preserv'd; so that our Computation being once adjusted, we shall rarely be to seek for new Supplies, nor be unprovided.

But admitting that the *New-Castle* Colliers might suffer something by the disusage of their Coal in *London*, if it shall appear that the whole City, and in effect the whole Kingdom of which that City is an Abridgement, shall suffer infinitely more by the Use of it. I cannot see, what Reason there can be to perswade so great a number of Men to a Continuance of that which is so injurious to their own  
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Concerns and Interest, only to be thought officious and beneficial to some few others, who shall thereby get Estates: Just as reasonable, as if I should endeavour to perswade the Citizens of *London* to pull up their Broad Paving with which their Streets are flank'd and which are so commodious to all Persons, because 'twould be for the Interest of Shooemakers and Taylors, that Men should wear out their Cloaths and Shooes by trudging up and down in the Dirt, or otherwise to ride in Coaches; which tho' very Expensive to him, who goes up and down the Streets upon his Occasions, would nevertheless be very commodious and profitable to Coach-makers, and to the *Hackney*-Merchants.

That the burning of Sea-Coal may happen to be the Preservation of Wood, is in some Sense very True, but 'tis as true too; that the burning of Wood would be a greater Encrease of Wood, and consequently of Timber, because it would encourage Men to convert their barren Grounds into Wood-Plantations, whereas where Wood-Fuel is neglected or supplanted by that of Coals, Men are easily tempted to quit the Preservation of their Woods, and convert their Ground to Tillage in hopes to find more Advantage; so that if Wood were made the Fuel of *London*, I doubt not but that many would be thereby invited to convert their Arable into Woods as a Thing of much more Profit: For being once Planted, they are preserv'd with little Labour and Charge, and yield a certain constant Revenue without hazard: For Crops of Wood with a little Care, as I said before, will never fail, and being arriv'd to some Growth, a Year or Two's forbearance will exceedingly advance the Encrease. And as 'tis true likewise, that one Chaldron of Coal will yield more heat than Three or Four Loads of Wood, so it is as true too, that the Damage sustain'd

sustain'd in a House in *London*, of any Figure or Trade, by the smutty smoak of the Coal, is triple to the extraordinary Charge such a House would ly under, were it obliged only to make use of Wood and Char-coal.

In respect of the Poor, Sea-Coal must be confess'd to be a very commodious Fuel, because cheap; so possibly might Turf and Cow-dung be; but were it not for that Thick Cloud of Sea-Coal-Smoke which covers the City in the Winter-time, and deprives it of the Benefit of the Sun, I doubt not but there would be less occasion for Fire than now there is; that the Poor in *London* might subsist as well as they do in other Cities of *England*, by the Benefit only of Wood, were the Price thereof fixt to a just and equitable Rule.

*Paris* doubtless, is more Populous than *London*, and has as many Poor, the Winters likewise are sharp enough, tho not so long as with us: Neither have they their Wood in any Quantities growing near it, nor such a River as the *Thames* to float it; and yet such is their Oeconomy in this particular, that there is no want, nor do their Poor starve in Winter. With us however, and in case of a Season more severe than ordinary, 'twould be a Charity becoming the Wealth and Greatness of such a City as *London*, to give Four or Five Thousand Chaldren of Sea-Coal to be distributed amongst the Poorer Families, which at the Proportion of half a Chaldron to a Family, would supply the Indigence of Twenty or Thirty Thousand Poor People, without any considerable annoyance to the City.

Something may be objected against the Use of Wood, as being more cumbersome than Sea-Coal, which lies close in the bottom of a Cellar, and is in no danger of Fire, whereas Wood must have a great deal of Room to ly within Doors, and without

out Doors too 'twill be no less an Incumbrance and Hazardous, tho a great Number of Houses there are which have no Convenience without, or any spare Back-side at all, and especially in the City. But this is easily answered; for first, It is supposed that the greatest part of our Wood-Fuel is to be Char-coal, which will ly in as little room almost as Sea-Coal, in Holes and Vaults, and over and above has this advantage, that it is sooner lighted to serve our Occasions, and more easily, and with less waste, put out, and reserv'd for further use, so that we may kindle more or less of it, as we see good, and without waste, whereas Sea-Coal-Fires are a long time a kindling, and many times we are forc'd to make twice as much Fire as is needful, because this kind of Fuel cannot be made to burn in a little quantity. Wood, as Faggots, Billet, and the like, is too cumbersome for some Houses, within or without Doors: It is to be suppos'd then, that in the out-skirts of the City such Provisions are to be stor'd up, or to be always ready upon the Wharfs, or in Boats, and especially on *Lambeth-side*; from all which Places the *Woodmongers* may supply the Occasions of private Families without great Hurry and Incumbrance, as we see it done in *Paris* and elsewhere. And altho Char-coal of it self be no very wholesome Fuel, especially in *close Rooms*, yet being mixt with *Wood* which may make a Flame, it is very inoffensive and sweet, making a very chearful Fire, and yielding a very strong and lasting heat.

There remains one Objection more against Wood, which truly is the most material thing which may be said against it, and 'tis this, *London*, we know, is a City very subject to the Misfortune of Fire, by reason of the great Quantity of Firr used in Floors, Partitions, Wainscot, &c. which sort of Wood, by reason of its Rosiny Nature, is most apt to take fire,



fire, and the Hearths and Chimneys in the new Buildings are made so little, and the Wainscot coming so near, there is much to be feared that way; whereas Coal-fires, lying in a Box or Grate, are not apt to fall upon the Floors, or if they do, the Cinders die presently.

I must confess, as many Chimneys are now made, there ought to be more than ordinary care to prevent Mischief: However, there is hardly any Chimney so little, but will contain a moderate quantity of Char-coal with some short Billets, all which may be so contriv'd in Frames or Grates, as may easily prevent Mischief by falling on the Floor flaming; and our Sea-Coal casting a stronger Heat than other Fuel, may be every way as dangerous to thin Wainscot, or Boards, near the Chimneys, as Wood-fire: For so apt is Fire to catch, that by any intense heat it will kindle at a distance, without any substantial application of burning Matter. But whatsoever inconvenience there may be upon this score, 'tis no way comparable to the Advantages which will arise on the other hand, as is most evident to the impartial Reader from the foregoing Discourses,

For whilst Sea-Coal is burnt in so great a quantity, it is at present, Shop-keepers must expect to have their Wares tarnish'd and sullied, which must needs debase the Price, let them do the best they can. The Citizens and Gentlemen must have their rich Furniture smutted and casted, and their closer Rooms stinking and smoky. Their Wearing-Apparel likewise must be subject to the same Fate, and every thing must lose its Lustre. The Skins and Complexions, especially of the fairer Sex, will stand in constant need of artificial helps, which in time brings Nature under inconceivable Decays and Deformity. The Buildings, whether publick or private, must run the like Destiny, whilst their Streets  
are

are continually dirty and stinking, and the Town it self perpetually plagu'd with Coal-Dust and Rubbish. The Inhabitants must be contented frequently to want the Sun for many Days together, and especially in a Season when its Beams would be most welcome, as also to have their Bodies fill'd with Coughs and Rheums, till they fall under Consumptions. All the innocent Contents which the Mind can take from fair Prospects, whether of Buildings, or of the Country, are lost in these Clouds: All the Beauties and Verdure of Gardens, are blackened by this sooty Air; all the Roads and Walks near the City being continually subject to black, stinking Dirt or Dust, and from this stinking and smoaky Air it is probably, that young Infants are hardly to be bred up in *London*: For their new-born Bodies, like tender Plants, or Blossoms, are soon blasted by the Sulphureous Exhalation.

In a word, 'tis impossible for any Man to live sweet and clean, to appear polite and well-adjusted amidst so many inevitable inconveniencies, without a vast Expence, which whilst some of more ample Fortunes may bear with; Others (and they too many) of straiter Circumstances, no less ambitious to make a Figure in the World, according to their Birth and Quality, fall into Ruine by living beyond themselves, that they may live in the Company of those of their own Degree and Rank. And it may be worth a transient Thought possibly, that as Wood-fire does totally extinguish (as I may say) all the foregoing Mischiefs, so the very Ashes of it will be a very considerable Profit, and useful upon several accounts, whilst Coal-Cinders serve only to choak up all the Avenues of the City; so that a Foreigner coming to *London*, would think it to be regularly fortified and flank'd with Bulwarks or Ramparts of Ashes; or else fancy perhaps, these Mountains of Rubbish to be the Remains of the last dreadful Conflagration.

Some



Some little Scruple may be made against the Use of Wood-fires, from that Provisionary Act for the Rebuilding of *Paul's*, laying a Tax or Tribute on Sea-Coal for the Carrying on and Finishing that Great Design. But this is as soon soly'd as thought on: For this Project of Wood-fires, supposing it were to be put in execution, could not signifie any thing, under Four or five and twenty Years; for so long it will be before a new-planted Wood will be fit to Fell; before which time, it may be hop'd, that Admirable Fabrick may arrive to its Consummation; or supposing it should continue longer in building, I can see no Reason why the same Burden or Tax may not be lay'd upon Wood for some short time.

When I first gave my Fancy the Liberty of ranging upon this Subject, I could not imagine with myself that it would have any other Effect than to amuse the Reader, by giving him some Diversion from what before he might be cloy'd with, as possibly by this time he is with that which I am now writing of: For it cannot be thought that an Essay of this nature, coming from so mean a hand, should meet with a very favourable Reception, especially where the Business is of that intricate nature, as will open a Breach to divers Contests, and give Offence to some whose Interest lies another way; tho' peradventure it may appear agreeable to others. However, I dare be bold to say, that were the Matter seriously weigh'd by those of Judgment and Power, as they would easily be inclin'd to think favourably of this Expedient, upon Considerations suggested from their own Private and Prevailing Reasons; so their Authority, and the Figure which they bear in the Government, would enable them to put this Project upon the Trial, by surmounting all the Difficulties which might make head against it: For a Business of this nature, after the Course of Four or five and twenty Years, (as I have already said) would come to the Birth;



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as in truth all Great and Profitable Designs whatsoever are the Issues of Time, and Things of greatest Maturity and Duration are longest in their Concession.

But suppose we, after all, that it should be found by Experience, that Sea-Coal in the present Case should be more Advantageous than Wood-Fuel, and that Wood-Fuel thereupon should be rejected, the Gentlemen notwithstanding who had undertaken to plant the Wast-Grounds and Heaths in the Neighbourhood of *London*, would still be great Gainers, their Ground being rendred of Thrice or Four times more Value than it was at before; which would be a good Return for their Money. Likewise the Kingdom in General would have the Advantage, in having such Nurseries for Timber, and so commodious for use. So that no Damage could accrue by the Attempt, but there would be great Certainty of Advantage, in many respects, tho' it should fail in the Main Design, which in all Projects whatsoever is a very rational and sufficient Ground for Trial.



FINIS.

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Bennet, at the Half-moon in St. Paul's  
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*Folio.*

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Three Sermons before the Queen, by Dr. *Resbury*.

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## Half-Moon in St. Paul's Church-yard.

King, on the 5th. of *Nov. 99*. By the Right Reverend William Lord Bishop of *Oxon*.

Two Sermons by Mr. *Adams*, one before the Lords Justices upon the taking of *Namur*; the other before the House of Commons, *Nov. 5*.

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